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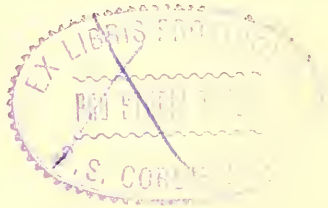
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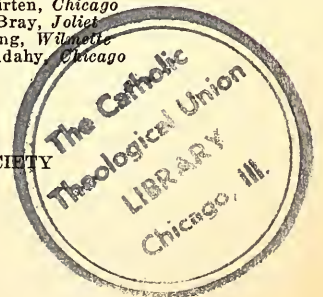
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CONTENTS

THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS	<i>Frederic Siedenburg, S. J.</i> 3
THE POLITICAL REGIME OF THE FRENCH IN THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI	<i>Louise Callan, R.S.C.J.</i> 4
THE TRUTH TELLER	<i>Paul J. Foik, C. S. C.</i> 37
ON THE STUDY OF PLACE-NAMES	<i>John M. Rothsteiner</i> 58
TWO PIONEER INDIANA PRIESTS	<i>Francis S. Holweck</i> 63
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES (Continued)	<i>Anthony Matre, K. S. G.</i> 82
BOOK REVIEWS. PAGEANT OF AMERICA	<i>Dorothy C. Kleespies</i> 98

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Mid-America

An Historical Review

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VOLUME XII

JULY, 1929

NUMBER I

NEW SERIES, VOLUME I

THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS

Mid-America — Our New Name

With this issue, both the Review and the Illinois Catholic Historical Society enter on their twelfth year. During this period there have been times when the editorial task was not an easy one and when the financial future looked dark. Devotion to the cause of Catholic history by the officers and the aid of a few generous friends triumphed and today the Society and its Review have established a respected reputation and rejoice in a comfortable surplus. As a consequence we are looking ahead to permanence and a far future.

When the Illinois Catholic Historical Society was founded in 1918, Illinois was celebrating its centenary as a state and its history was officially rewritten in six stately volumes. Then it was that Catholics realized that they had neglected to chronicle and preserve the story of their forefathers in the Faith and their glorious contribution, not only in Illinois, but in the whole Mississippi Valley.

To make amends for the past and to safeguard the future was the purpose of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society and its Review. However, our editors and writers soon found that they were hampered by the limitations imposed by the name of "Illinois" in the title of our Review and a more comprehensive name was desired. After mature deliberation the officers of the Society have selected MID-AMERICA—An Historical Review, as the new name of its journal, and they trust that it will meet with favor with members and public alike.

MID-AMERICA is happy on this nativity of its new name to announce a new editor, one who has won distinction in the field of history with which MID-AMERICA concerns itself. The editor is none other than the Reverend Gilbert J. Garraghan, S. J., Ph. D.

MID-AMERICA hopes to serve the region between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains as an organ of Catholic history.

FREDERIC SIENBURG, S. J.

THE POLITICAL REGIME OF THE FRENCH IN THE VALLEY OF THE MISSISSIPPI

INTRODUCTION

“The history of the world is in no small degree the history of its great river valleys.”¹ The fertile soil, tillable land and abundant water supply which such a region affords conduce as effectively to human progress and happiness as do good harbors and easy access to the high seas. The Ganges, the Tigris and Euphrates, the Nile and the Danube have played famous rôles in world history, not only furnishing rich farm lands and pastures but also offering access to inland regions otherwise closed to explorer and trader. Western Europe, with its delicate land-contour, affords no examples of rivers of great length, but its waterways are none-the-less famous. The Rhine, the Thames, the Seine, the Ebro, the Po and the Tiber have been highways of civilization throughout the centuries.

The rivers whose waters pour into the Atlantic along the eastern coast of our continent early attracted settlers. The valleys of the James, the Potomac, the Connecticut, became the scenes of English settlement, while the Hudson was thronged with thrifty Dutchmen. These streams were the highways of trade and social intercourse for the northern colonies, just as the Roanoke, the Ashley and the Savannah were for the southern.

But North America boasts of far more magnificent water courses than these. Of her four great river systems, two empty into the icy waters of the Arctic and Hudson Bay, respectively, while the other two, rising in the region of the Great Lakes, flow, one east into the Atlantic, the other south into the Gulf of Mexico. These rivers are themselves as different as the directions of their flow. The mouth of the St. Lawrence opens widely toward Europe; the river bed is rocky and stable; the waters are clear and cool—even icy in the approach to the Gulf that gives on the ocean. The Mississippi is a warm, turbid stream, flowing in a shifting channel, piling up at its mouth a vast delta of soil carried from the mountain regions of the East and West. So difficult was it first to locate the opening of this great river when approaching the Gulf that many a hardy seaman from Spain passed it by unwittingly and searched the coast in vain.

¹ Ogg, F. A., *Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 1.

Through the basin drained by the Mississippi, long arms stretch out to the continental mountain chains. The Ohio and the Missouri bind East and West into a great geographical unit which history has confirmed as one. An area of a million and a quarter square miles is drained by that noble stream whose flow is nearly three thousand miles in length. The natives dwelling amid the forests of the vast valley called it the "Father of Running Waters," for they knew nothing of the other great rivers of the world. In their ignorance they were not far wrong, for in length it is exceeded only by the Nile, in volume by the Amazon.

In American history, the Mississippi maintains a significance over all other rivers, though many of these saw European settlement earlier than it did. In the field of religion, the earliest missionaries of our Holy Faith in North America followed its lead, the name of Marquette being bound inseparably with its northern discovery. In finance its good name was for a time tarnished by French schemers, but the majestic river quickly redeemed itself, becoming the highway for internal development in the powerful Republic through whose heart it flows. In war the Mississippi has had its full share of conflict between savage and savage, white man and red, white man and white. Yet it is a natural bond of union in the States today, as it was between the colonies of Canada and Louisiana two hundred years ago.

I—THE DISCOVERY AND EXPLORATION OF THE GREAT RIVER

The history of the discovery of the Mississippi begins in mystery. We know that a quest for gold brought Spanish adventurers to the mouth of the mighty stream, while explorations in the north were undertaken in the name of religion and commerce by the French. Yet it is almost impossible to say what Spaniard first saw the mouth of the Mississippi. The "Admiral's Map," engraved in 1507 and published in 1513, is the earliest drawing we have on which are indicated the partly enclosed waters known today as the Gulf of Mexico, and the three-pronged delta of a great river flowing into that gulf from the north.² If on his fourth voyage Columbus passed through the Strait of Florida and followed the coast line to the north and west, the "Admiral's Map" is easily accounted for. But the most credible record of that voyage contains little definite information regarding the route by which the great discoverer reached the shores of Central America. The claims of Piñeda are stoutly defended by able his-

² Chambers, J., *Mississippi River*, p. 3.

torians. Those of Hernando de Cortes rest on the map on which he accurately charted the mouth of the Mississippi, which he called the "Arrestiosos."

The hardy adventurer whose claim to distinction as the original discoverer of the river is based most securely on fact is the Spaniard, Hernando de Soto. He reached the river at Chickasaw Bluff on May 8, 1541, after a circuitous tramp from Florida across the territory now included in Georgia, the Carolinas, East Tennessee, Alabama and Mississippi. He found no fabulous stores of gold as he had expected, but mined untold disappointment and met his death on the shores of the mighty stream in whose depths he was buried. With him the march of Spanish exploration halted for two hundred years. The Spaniards had discovered the great river but they did nothing to utilize it. "Except as a basis for subsequent territorial claims, its discovery by the Spaniards might as well never have occurred. The whole work of discovery had to be wrought anew nearly a century and a half later by the efforts of a different people."³ Fur-traders and missionaries of New France were to accomplish the task abandoned in disgust by the Spaniards who went elsewhere in search of gold.

On the St. Lawrence the French were pioneers. Early in the sixteenth century fishing vessels hovered round the Gulf of St. Lawrence. In 1535 Jacques Cartier, a sailor of St. Malo, steered his boat up the river as far as the site of Montreal. Like many another European adventurer he was looking for a route to the Far East, and every mile his boat progressed up the river encouraged him in the belief that he had found the way to the Indies. But the Rapids put an end to his dream. Cartier returned twice to France and died on the coast of Brittany in 1557. He does not belong to the Mississippi any more than do the men who followed his inspiration during the next century, but it was he who led the way for those sturdy explorers and earnest missionaries who filled the history of New France with deeds of high adventure and lofty heroism.

The voyages of Cartier were the most important of the eighteen separate expeditions which were made to the new world from France between 1504 and 1603, and which indicate a certain activity on the part of that nation in fixing her grasp upon the newly discovered lands. Canada became a colony, a trading post, a mission field in which the boundless zeal of the sons of St. Ignatius carried the light of faith to the Indians while wary merchants were trafficking with

³ Ogg, F. A., *Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 45.

them for furs. Adventurous spirits, impressed with the idea that their country's greatness depended to a considerable extent on colonial expansion, pushed into the region of the Great Lakes. In 1603 Champlain was in Quebec.

Samuel Champlain is often pointed to as the noblest of the French colonizers, possessed of the conspicuous merits of the type with few of its defects. He had had wide experience as a sailor before his Canadian adventure, had visited Hispaniola and the Spanish Main, and even penetrated as far as Mexico. A man of wide vision, whose intelligently kept diary as a sailor contains the imaginative suggestion of a canal across the Isthmus of Panama,⁴ he foresaw vast possibilities for France in the New World and pressed his way to the very heart of the wilderness. It was he who really began the search for the Mississippi. Indian tales about a great body of water far to the west had aroused his curiosity to know what foundation there might be for such rumors. And hope for profitable trade routes urged him on.

In 1634 he dispatched an intrepid adventurer, Jean Nicolet, on a westward journey which took him as far as the country of the Algonquin Mascoutins on the Fox River. Here he learned that a three days' journey to the south would bring him to the Great Water. Nicolet did not attempt the passage. He, too, was under the impression that the Great Water was a sea rather than a river, and he hastened back to announce to his master the result of his year's inquiry. Champlain's death, that very year, put a temporary stop to scientific interest in the Great Water.

He was a man of brilliant qualities, this daring French explorer, and one who had few of the shortcomings so prominent in the adventurers who followed him. There was a sweetness and geniality in his dealings with his associates; no touch of acrid jealousy left a blemish on his reputation. But his treatment at the hands of the Government might stand as a symbol of the indifference and lack of wisdom in the French colonial policy. He had no support from the ministers or the nation. Though he worked and schemed for thirty-two years, at his death there was little to show for it all—a garrison of some two hundred soldiers, living on supplies from France. Disappointment and failure were the reward of those long years, but the heroism of his character only shone the brighter in pathetic patience and constant good humor.

A generation passed, and there came to New France Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle. He seems to have been a more typical French

⁴ Champlain, S., *Oeuvres Publiées*, 1:41.

adventurer than Champlain, for in him strength and weakness were blended picturesquely. He was a man for a great task, a seer of enkindling visions, a leader of indomitable courage. Loving independent action, impatient of all forms of control, he was just the sort of man to whom the free, wild life of the frontier would appeal. His early Ohio expedition (1670-1671) was regarded as a failure by his contemporaries, and his old seigniory, "La Chine," on the St. Lawrence, still commemorates in its name both the enthusiasm that led La Salle to believe the broad river above the chute was the pathway to China, and the scorn which this enthusiasm drew upon him.

It was, however, this same idea that inspired Frontenac, the governor of New France, to send out the great expedition of 1672-1673. The problem of the river system of the west was of interest to him and to his chief in France, Colbert, who for a time lent his assistance to every scheme of exploration that seemed feasible. Louis de Buade, Count of Frontenac, was one of the most remarkable Frenchmen of his time. Fiske says he was "of the bluest blood of France, a veteran soldier of no mean ability, and for executive capacity excelled by few. His talents for dealing with the Indians were simply marvelous. . . . Among white men he was domineering and apt to be irascible."⁵

To carry out the plan he had formed he chose Louis Jolliet, who seems to have been a prudent and painstaking person of sober judgment and determination. Jolliet had as friend and confidential companion the noble Jesuit, Jacques Marquette, whose name has ever been linked with his in the history of western discovery. The priest was a deeply spiritual man whose soul was keenly sensitive to the beauties of nature and afire with zeal for the salvation of the Indians. Bravery and endurance of the most trying hardships went hand in hand with gentleness and a heavenly influence on all who came in contact with him.

There were seven members in the little party that made its way in the spring of 1673 from Mackinaw to Green Bay, then up to the Fox River through the country of the Fire Nation, across the Fox-Wisconsin portage to the head waters of the Wisconsin, a tributary of the Great Water for which they were searching. With utmost simplicity did Father Marquette note in his narrative the fact of the discovery: "We safely entered the Mississippi on the 17th of June, with a joy that I cannot express."⁶ Jolliet would have called the stream La Buade, in honor of Frontenac; Marquette preferred a religious title in honor of the Queen of Heaven. But it was the Indian name that

⁵ Fiske, J., *New France and New England*, p. 116.

⁶ Thwaites, R. G. (ed.), *Jesuit Relations*, 59:107.

clung to the Great River, and it remains for all times the "Father of Running Waters," the Mississippi.

As the voyage continued southward, the explorers came to realize with certainty that the stream flowed into the Gulf of Mexico and not to the seas of the Far East. Reaching the mouth of the Arkansas they learned from the Indians of the proximity of the Spaniards and the hostility of certain tribes who had been furnished firearms by their European allies. On July 17th the party began its homeward journey, returning by way of the Illinois River and the Chicago portage. Some 2,500 miles had been covered in those four months of travel.⁷

The apathetic character of the French government showed itself at the very discovery of the Mississippi. For some years after Jolliet and Father Marquette had determined the direction of the river and had opened it to France, exploration languished. The King had given Frontenac to understand that French enterprise in America might be needed along other lines and that all projects for the opening of the Mississippi country should be held in abeyance.⁸ Frontenac himself seems to have been less interested in the matter after learning that the waterway led not to the oceans bordering on the Indies but into regions infested by the hostile Spanish. The efforts of Jolliet to establish a trading post on the Illinois received no encouragement from the governor, while by Colbert the venture was absolutely prohibited. The military projects of Louis XIV were absorbing all the energies of France. War was threatening even between the English and French colonists in America.

But La Salle was at work, winning favor in France in 1674 for the seigniorship of Fort Frontenac, and obtaining in 1677 the necessary authority to explore the Mississippi country at his own expense and to open up new trade routes to the West. His plans were far-sighted and ambitious. He longed to make good the French claim to the great central region of the continent by actual possession, by the establishment of posts along the river and by the extension of French prestige among the Indians. The Government was roused to a flare of enthusiasm, and new letter patents were granted by the King in 1678.⁹ Then La Salle set out on the expedition that led him to the mouth of the Mississippi. It was he who in 1682 gave the name of Louisiana to the vast region east and west of the river, and took possession of it

⁷ French, B. F., *Historical Collections of Louisiana*, 2:297, quoted by Ogg, p. 76-77.

⁸ Ogg, F. A., *Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 79.

⁹ O'Callaghan, *New York Colonial Documents*, 9:127.

in the name of his King. He mapped out fairly accurately the great domain he had explored, and conceived the plan of a chain of forts from the St. Lawrence strongholds to the cities he meant to build on the Southern Gulf.

For the colony of Mategorda (1685) La Salle fought a desperate fight that called for a rare strength of character and even heroism. But he failed. Misfortune overtook him, his fleet was wrecked, the King gave no thought to his rescue, his only faithful friend, Tonti, was far away from him in the Illinois country. Mutiny got the upper hand among the wretched band of followers, and La Salle's life was ended by the weapon of one of his own men. That he failed to accomplish the work planned was largely due to the enmity he roused in his co-workers through vanity and a certain unamiable disposition by which he seemed to turn men against him just when he should have won them to his side. But with all his faults, historians rank him high among the men who worked for France in America. "For force of will and vast conceptions," says Baneroft, "for various knowledge and quick adaptation of his genius to untried circumstances; for a sublime magnanimity that resigned itself to the will of Heaven, yet triumphed over affliction by energy of purpose and unfaltering hope—he had no superior among his countrymen."¹⁰

II—FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY

When France first undertook to create a colonial empire beyond the Atlantic she was undoubtedly the leading nation of Europe. Her population exceeded that of Spain and was three times that of England. Her army in the days of Louis XIV's glory numbered half a million in all ranks. Her resources for conquering and colonizing new lands seemed irresistible. By the middle of the seventeenth century Spain was no longer a dangerous rival, Italy and Germany were mere geographical expressions, and England was in the midst of political and religious revolution.

The power and prestige of France at this time were due in great part to three sources: physical features, racial qualities, and a highly centralized government. The kingdom was compact, the soil fertile, the climate propitious and the coast line advantageous. National wealth then depended to a great extent on agriculture, so these were important factors. The vigor of the race compelled admiration in those days as well as in our own. The French throughout their history have shown an almost inexhaustible stamina, an ability to bear disas-

¹⁰ Baneroft, George, *History of the United States*, 3:173.

ter and rise quickly from it, a courage and persistence that no obstacles can thwart.

Moreover, the national power of France had been growing for a century. Richelieu had strengthened the monarchy and broken the power of the nobles. Louis XIV continued the work of consolidation and managed to centralize in the throne every vestige of political power. "*L'Etat, c'est Moi*" was no idle boast. There was no trace of representative government nor sign of constitutional check on his royal will. All lines of control ran upward and inward to a common center, making for unity and autoeratic efficiency in domestic, colonial and foreign affairs. With all these apparent advantages, France might have been the first and not the last to get a firm foothold in the new Americas.

Yet the nation was incredibly slow in following up the pioneer work of Cartier and Champlain, and even of La Salle. Comparing the progress made up to 1689 by the French and English colonies in the New World, we find that the French had done wonders in the line of exploration but had founded few flourishing settlements. Military despotism ruled the colonies and the people in them had no share in the government. French population in America amounted to about 12,000. The English record is different. Slow they were in exploring but their twelve colonies had been settled quickly and were then flourishing, with great freedom of government through local assemblies, and a population of about 200,000.¹¹

Evidently the importance of colonial power and the vast possibilities of the New World were not realized by the French King and his ministers. At the close of the sixteenth century Sully had deliberately opposed colonial ventures. In 1627 Richelieu's great Company did make a brave start, but the Cardinal soon lost interest in it. Mazarin preferred European diplomacy to American expansion. Only when Colbert came into power did the government of France really awaken to any enthusiasm in the work of colonization—and it was hardly wide awake even then.

Colbert was well fitted to direct the work. He was a man of affairs who had risen from the ranks of the bourgeoisie; a man who knew his own mind, who planned clearly and accomplished industriously. His ideas were sound, his will firm, his ability great. His colonial and maritime policy was new and fruitful in spite of the difficulties it met. Endeavoring to build up the power of France at home and abroad, on land and sea, he wished to turn the eyes of contemporary adventurous

¹¹ Wiley, E., *The United States*, 1:436.

France toward her distant interests. He realized the vast opportunity that lay open to the French, and in the course of twenty years created many dependencies of France beyond the sea. It was Colbert who prepared for the acquisition of Louisiana by supporting La Salle. It was under his wise administration that the population of Canada quintupled. But in the eighteenth century the ruling party in France, lured by continental battlefields, madly squandered the fruit of Colbert's work as so much material for barter and exchange.

Louis XIV, whose personal rule began in 1660, was a friend of colonial interests. His accession to power seemed to infuse vigor into the French colonies which, up to that time, "had developed with painful slowness, owing to the ineptitude of Frenchmen for colonial enterprise."¹² Gathering into his hands the reigns of absolute government, he guided the nation's course to greatness first, then to disaster. At times the Grand Monarque displayed active zeal toward the northern wilderness, where he hoped for the establishment of a colony that would by rapid growth and prosperity soon crowd England off the new continent. Failure and disappointment did not lessen this interest, but the European entanglements and disasters which marked the last years of his reign occupied his mind to the exclusion of colonial affairs.

If de Tocqueville's remark be true, that "the physiognomy of a government may be best judged in the colonies," the picture of the French on the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi gives evidence undeniable. It throws into sharp relief much that was good—perhaps the best, and much that was bad—though hardly the worst, in the life of Old France. Sunshine and shadow, victory and defeat, pageantry and tragedy alternate picturesquely in the colonial annals. The political framework of the colonies with its centralization, the paternal regulations on industry and commerce, the flood of missionary zeal outpoured in glorious profusion, the heroism and daring of priests and explorers, the venality of administrative officials, the anachronism of feudal land-tenure in the northern colonies, the bizarre externals of social life—all these reflected Old France in her American offspring.

One weakness of the French colonial policy, more striking than the rest, was the failure of the Government to realize how greatly North America differed from Central Europe, how the civilization of centuries differed from the native state of the wilderness, how life in the colonies differed from life in France. The home government was

¹² Channing, Edward, *History of the United States*, 2:131.

continually surprised and irritated because many of the institutions transplanted bodily from Europe did not thrive in the new soil. Detailed instructions for the guidance of colonial officials were drawn up at the Court of Versailles by men who had not the slightest grasp of the colonies' needs and problems, but rather showed an astounding ignorance of New World conditions by the things they dogmatically commanded to be encouraged or discouraged. Had heed been paid to the advice of men who were on the spot, far more could have been accomplished in the development of trade and industry. Had some measure of freedom been granted the colonial officials, stronger hold could have been gained both in Canada and Louisiana.

But paternalism required the acquiescence of home authorities for every step forward, regardless of the loss of time and opportunity which this might entail. This exasperating slowness must have proved a severe trial to the patience of the men who had the practical difficulties before their eyes. Absolutism and paternalism were the factors which had made France strong in Europe and by which she hoped to lay firm colonial foundations up and down the great central valley of North America. Yet they were the very factors which militated most effectively against the growth of French colonies in the new land where frontier life made for self-government, and where existence itself depended on individual initiative.

III—LOUISIANA

The close of the seventeenth century witnessed a series of events which went far toward shaping the destiny of the Mississippi Valley. Up to 1689, Louis had controlled the movements of the last two Stuart kings by substantial grants of money. His continental aggressions called forth no remonstrance from England and his colonial advances were scrupulously respected. But the accession of William of Orange changed the face of things, both in Europe and in America. England now stepped forward to oppose French aggrandizement, and a series of conflicts ensued, opening with the War of the Palatinate in 1689 and closing a century and a quarter later with the victory of Waterloo. Varied conditions and circumstances may occupy the foreground as immediate causes of these successive struggles, but lurking ever in the background of the picture stands the personal rivalry of England and France for colonial empire.

It is in this setting that the story of Louisiana must be considered. Whether the French descended the Great River from Canada or approached its mouth from the Gulf, they felt continually the slow

but steady advance of the English across the Alleghanies. La Salle had realized this and had urged upon the French ministry the wisdom of early colonization in Louisiana.¹³ The French title to that extensive and magnificent region could not long remain uncontested, if based only on the claims of prior discovery. "La Salle's plan was to effect a military occupation of the whole Mississippi valley as far eastward as the summit of the Appalachian range by means of military posts which should control the communications and sway the policy of the Indian tribes. Thus the Alleghanies would become an impassable barrier to the English colonists pressing westward from the Atlantic. This became the abiding policy of the French in North America."¹⁴ And it was in defense of this very policy that La Salle met his death.

For a decade after that unfortunate event nothing was done to secure a permanent foothold at the mouth of the Mississippi. The importance of the river as a trade route was being recognized, however, by the Government, occupied though it was with European wars. In 1697 there appeared in Paris a memoir written by Sieur de Rémonville, a friend of La Salle, and addressed to the Comte de Ponchartrain, Minister of Marine.¹⁵ In it the writer urged upon the Government the importance of colonizing Louisiana. Describing as it did the natural beauty of the country, the richness of its resources and the greed of both English and Spanish to possess it, the paper created a stir at court and roused some active interest, though similar proposals of Tonti and de Louvigny had been ignored by the Government.¹⁶ When de Rémonville wrote that William Penn, the governor of the English colony of Pennsylvania, had already sent fifty men to found a settlement on the Wabash, as a preliminary step toward the Mississippi, Louis and his ministers realized the need of prompt action.

The Peace of Ryswick had just granted to Europe a breathing space after the hard drive of war. The Minister of Marine was ready to furnish the means for a colonial enterprise, and his son and secretary, de Maurepas, had at hand a leader of practical qualities, of freshness and vigor—clearly the man for the work. This was Pierre le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville. He had lately appealed to de Maurepas for aid in a colonizing project in Lower Louisiana, and circumstances now obtained for him a commission from the Government to carry out the scheme he had planned.

¹³ Margry, P., *Decouvertes et Etablissements des Français*, 2:359-369. Ogg, F. A., *Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 119.

¹⁴ Fiske, J., *New France and New England*, p. 121-122.

¹⁵ Margry, 4:19-43.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 4:9-18.

Canada, Hudson Boy and the Spanish Main had prepared this young seigneur, whose efficiency was now to be proven. In October, 1698, he set sail from Brest with a company of 200 soldiers and colonists on two vessels. Detailed instructions were drawn up for his guidance,¹⁷ and papers provided to counteract a possible challenge by the English at sea. In February 1699 the party landed at Ship Island. Iberville, with his brother Bienville and forty-eight men, set out to search for the mouth of the main stream, which they entered on March 2—the first Frenchmen to sail into the Mississippi from the Gulf.¹⁸

The location of the new settlement at the head of Biloxi Bay was a miserable one, chosen only with a view to safety, regardless of comfort and industry. Oppressive heat, burning sand, nauseating water, poor food—all made for failure from the very start. To secure further help from the Court, Iberville returned to France in May, leaving Sauvolle in charge of the colony and Bienville second in command. In December he brought to Biloxi a welcome supply of provisions and sixty new settlers, together with further instructions from the Government as to the conduct of the enterprise.

During his absence an event had occurred which showed that in establishing the colony the French had beaten the English by only a few months in the race to secure the mouth of the Mississippi. On August 29, 1699, a British vessel sent out by Dr. Coxe entered the river after coasting for some time along the shore of Texas in search of the entrance. Sailing about a hundred miles up the river, these Englishmen met Bienville and his exploring party. The young officer ordered the captain to turn back, as the country had already been occupied by the French. The Englishman disputed the claim, asserting that the British had discovered and taken possession of the region fifty years before. He declared, moreover, that he would return with a larger force and make a settlement.¹⁹

The explorations which Iberville made for some five hundred miles up the river unfolded to him the nature and possibilities of the country. La Salle's far-reaching scheme for French domination in America appeared to him now in its true significance and he ardently championed it, stressing the military and political importance of the new possession. The project of a chain of forts along the river and its tributaries from Canada to the Gulf was supplemented with a practical plan for consolidating the Indian tribes into connecting links

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4:72-75.

¹⁸ Winsor, J., *Narrative and Critical History*, 5:17.

¹⁹ Margry, *op. cit.*, 4:360. Alvord, C. W., *The Illinois Country*, p. 128.

between the posts, and so binding country and people alike to France. Iberville planned well. He would begin with a fort and garrison at the mouth of the Mississippi, a strongly fortified settlement on the Gulf, a harbor on Ship Island, and outposts at Mobile to guard against Spanish surprise.

In spite of these wise plans, the colonization of Louisiana in the first decade of the eighteenth century was characteristically French. The nation took little interest; few voluntary settlers came to the new country, and those who did appear wanted only to hunt for gold or fur-bearing animals in desultory wandering. Tilling the soil and establishing homes formed no part of their plans. The Government seemed to slump into indifference, but this was due, in part at least, to European affairs which so constantly interfered with colonial progress for the next sixty years. The War of the Spanish Succession (1702-1713) rendered intercourse between France and her colonies very difficult, since the British navy, aided at time by the Dutch, swept the seas of French vessels and spread terror in the Antilles.²⁰

Iberville made supreme efforts to maintain the settlement, commencing the fort at Balise and establishing regular communication with the Illinois country. His death in 1706 was a tremendous loss to Louisiana. The ministry, occupied with war, gave little thought to the infant colony and left Bienville to battle as best he could against lack of provisions, Indian menaces and the determined resistance of the ordonnateur, Nicolas La Salle. Fever had carried off Sauvolle in 1701; thus at the age of 20, Bienville had become the highest executive and sole representation of royal authority in the colony. Fair, slight, almost undersized, he was a striking contrast to his physically superb brother, yet he was no less a leader and a man.

He had at his disposal but a handful of troops; the population was diminishing. The ship from which he had hoped for assistance in 1704 brought, together with a few soldiers, colonists and marriageable girls, the dreadful epidemic of yellow fever which carried off the brave Tonti and many settlers. Commerce hardly existed in the colony, for it was only in 1707 that the first merchant ship anchored at Ship Island. Such supplies as were obtained came from San Domingo, and if the boat which carried them was delayed, famine was sure to ensue.²¹

Yet Bienville never wavered in his conviction that French domination in the New World depended on the possession and control of

²⁰ Hayes, C. J. H., *Modern Europe*, 1:308.

²¹ de Villiers, M., *Les Dernières Années de la Louisiane Française*, p. 7.

the Mississippi, and in his determination to do his utmost to secure the power of France. Again and again he pointed out in his reports that this control could only be assured by colonizing its banks and by establishing upon it the capital city of the colony. The site, between the river and the lake, he and Iberville had chosen in the first years of the struggle—for struggle it was from first to last. The very man whom the Government had named to aid Bienville as ordonnateur made matters so unpleasant for his chief that the situation became unbearable. Bienville and La Salle were both recalled, and Muys and d'Artaguette sent to replace them.

The new governor never reached the colony but d'Artaguette arrived at his post in February, 1708. In his report concerning the affairs of the colony he completely exonerated Bienville and showed up the selfish ambition of La Salle.²² During the five years in which d'Artaguette administered colonial affairs he received practically no help from Paris. Misery increased to such an extent that many of the settlers returned to France or sought refuge in the Illinois country. Desertions were frequent among the soldiers, yet d'Artaguette succeeded in repelling an English attack by sea and in founding a post on the Ohio to keep a lookout for traders crossing inland from the Atlantic seaboard.

In 1712 Antoine de La Mothe-Cadillac was made governor of Louisiana. He was, as Alvord calls him, "a man of bluster, some efficiency and little amiability. With his coming the colony received its first civil government in the proper sense of the word, for up to this time it had been administered by military commandants under direct orders from France."²³ Now a council was inaugurated for civil and criminal affairs, representing more or less directly the royal power in conjunction with two officials appointed by the Crown.

On leaving Detroit, where he had held the post of commandant, Cadillac went, according to his orders, to France. Here he spent some months endeavoring to revive the interest of the Government in Louisiana. But a selfish interest it proved to be, for soon the colony was given over to the tender mercies of a monopolist. Cadillac negotiated the grant of a trading charter to Antoine Crozat, a wealthy merchant connected with the inner circle of the Government. Louis XIV had drawn heavily on him during his wars and it was in partial payment of these loans that the royal grant was made. The new governor painted in glowing colors the commercial possibilities of Louisiana; rich mines, valuable furs and lucrative trade figured

²² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

²³ Alvord, C. W., *The Illinois Country*, p. 142.

largely in the picture. The charter conferred on Crozat for fifteen years the exclusive right of trade and mining throughout Louisiana whose boundaries were indefinitely described. The right to import negro slaves was among the commercial privileges obtained by the hard-headed merchant. To insure an increase of population, the concessionaire was to convey a few colonists on every ship sent to the colony. After nine years he was to bear the expense of the civil establishment.

From the very first Crozat and Cadillac were disappointed in their hopes of financial returns. They had expected profitable trade with the Spanish colonists and they secured practically none. They had hoped to make Mobile a flourishing trade center, but the population was so small that no commerce could be built up, and the monopolistic policy of Crozat tended to check any growth of population. Indian trade, too, proved disappointing on account of British competition.

By 1716 the monopolist realized that his hope of wealth in the Mississippi valley was a chimera. In the following years he petitioned to be released from his obligations and his request was granted at once. "It was well for the future interests of Louisiana that he did so," says Ogg, "for, while many trading posts were established under his direction, the work of colonization had languished. Crozat had been interested solely in commerce, not in establishing an agricultural population. In 1717 it is estimated that there were not more than 700 French in Louisiana."²⁴ Cadillac had already been recalled. His haughty, imperious manner had made him very unpopular in the colony; he had done little to improve conditions—save send in long complaints to the Paris ministry. Of these Crozat wrote, "I am of the opinion that all the disorders in the colony of which M. de La Mothe complains proceed from his own maladministration of affairs."²⁵ Perhaps the abilities of Bienville were being recognized; at least the colony was left in his hands in the interim between Cadillac's recall and L'Epiney's arrival.

The privileges of Crozat had hardly been relinquished when they were conferred upon a new organization known as "The Company of the West," or "The Mississippi Company." Little thought was there for the welfare of the region; fortunes were to be made out of it for courtly spendthrifts, and the Government was to be relieved of bankruptcy at the expense of the far-away dependency. The wars of Louis XIV had brought extreme financial embarrassment on France.

²⁴ Ogg, F. A., *The Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 204.

²⁵ Winsor, J., *op. cit.*, 5:30.

Now an effort was made to lift a part of the burden from the shoulders of the Regency.

A stock company was organized whose capital was to be one hundred million livres, divided into shares of five hundred livres each. An income of four per cent was guaranteed by the Government. The Company was to enjoy a monopoly of commerce, lands and mines in Louisiana for twenty-five years, during which time all property in the colony was to be exempt from taxation. The obligation which the Company assumed was to settle 6,000 white people and 3,000 negro slaves in Louisiana within those years. To Bienville was entrusted the position of Governor General of the province and the power of local agent of the Company.

At the head of this project was a Scotch adventurer, John Law, who blew the Mississippi bubble larger and larger by his novel and delusive devices. The shares of the Company rose rapidly in value; maps of Louisiana were scattered through France; money was plentiful, speculation rife. But in 1720 the bubble burst. When confidence gave place to mistrust, the project went down in ruin and Louisiana was disgraced in the eyes of all Europe. "Yet the colony was entirely too strong and valuable to be abandoned. The failure of Law's scheme merely meant that French settlement of the Great West would proceed hereafter by slower but saner methods."²⁶

The Mississippi Bubble, ruinous as it was to those caught by its iridescence, did bring benefit to Louisiana. It had been necessary to Law's scheme that the land be peopled. Though the methods resorted to were often atrocious, some hundreds of the deported were of a fairly respectable character. These finding return hopeless, at least made the best of their situation and established a town on the river bank under the direction of Bienville and de la Tour, which they called New Orleans.

After the ruin of John Law, a drastic reformation was attempted in the administrative machinery of the Louisiana territory. Though the Company continued to hold its charter, nine military districts were created, each with a commander and a judge; and these nine were united under four general commanders.²⁷ The Company was determined to cut down expenses and this policy of restriction was painfully felt throughout the Mississippi valley. The garrisons were reduced; the amount of merchandise shipped north on the river was strictly limited; risks of financial loss by water or Indian attack were reduced to a minimum. Officials living in the colonies and interested

²⁶ Ogg, F. A., *Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 213.

²⁷ Alvord, C. W., *The Illinois Country*, p. 152.

in their development were astonished at the shortsightedness of this policy and made earnest appeals to the powers in control. But the Council of the Company paid little heed. It had other serious troubles in Louisiana, where "the conflict between political factions was raging with great bitterness bidding fair to ruin the colony."²⁸

Indian wars, too, were draining the resources of the population and the purse of the Company. In the Illinois country the struggle with the Foxes lasted until the summer of 1730 and seriously retarded the development of that section. South of the Ohio the situation was perhaps more dangerous, for British generosity was winning the friendship of the Indians to an extent which French diplomacy could not counter-balance. The economy of the Company prevented active measures, for empty warehouses and a handful of troops could do nothing to prevent British intrigues.

The disaster at Fort Rosalie in 1729 revealed the true condition of things when 238 of the French were massacred there by the Natchez. Retaliation there was later on, and the tribe was almost completely wiped out. But a further result was the Government's recognition of the failure of the monopolistic policy and the imperative need of action on the part of France herself. In January, 1731, the Company petitioned the king to take Louisiana and the Illinois country off its hands, and the request was complied with in July.

During these years of monopolistic venture, European affairs were working against the colonial interests of France. In the Treaty of Utrecht, which closed the War of the Spanish Succession, there was a passage whose influence on the development of the New World was to be decisive. Clause 15 assured to Great Britain and France unrestricted trade with and a sphere of influence over their Indian allies.²⁹ The wording of the clause was vague enough, but the British read into it a claim to all the lands ever held by the Iroquois Confederacy and their allies south of the Ohio, and they pressed the claim until they had driven the French from North America.

The Regency had recognized the necessity of a change in the colonial policy of France, for the situation was becoming critical. Perhaps a study was being made of the English system and conclusions drawn as to its advantages. A significant letter of instructions written to a governor in 1728 by the minister is quoted by Alvord:

"The idea of the people of New England is to work, to cultivate their land carefully and to advance their settlements little by little; when it is a question of pushing them farther they will not consent

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

²⁹ MacDonald, W., *Selected Charters*, p. 232.

because it would be they who would be obliged to support the expense. The inhabitants of New France think differently. They wish always to advance without troubling themselves about the establishments nearby, because they gain more and are more independent when they are far away. These different fashions of thinking have had the result that the English colonies are better populated and better established than ours.”³⁰

As Louisiana was now a royal province new methods could be introduced if the Government were equal to the task. There was no question of royal opposition. Louis XV willingly left affairs of state to his ministers or his mistress. Plans were rapidly evolved; trading permits were granted freely in Canada, the Illinois country and Louisiana. In contrast to former restrictions, trade was encouraged between the northern and southern colonies. When in 1734 Bienville complained that the governor of Canada was not responding to the Government's wishes, the ministry promptly reprimanded Beauharnois of New France and reminded him that it was the royal wish that the closest relations exist between the two provinces. One of the greatest obstacles to this union was the Indian problem which daily grew more dangerous in both the upper and the lower regions of the Mississippi valley. Communications between Canada and Louisiana was becoming impossible except for well-guarded convoys.

As years before Bienville had won prestige through his success in handling the Indians, he was once more placed at the head of the southern colony. The Government hoped, no doubt, that a crushing defeat of the natives would put an end to the trouble. “The first efforts of his administration were therefore directed to punishing the Chickasaws for receiving the Natchez and forcing them to give up the refugees. His warlike plans turned New Orleans into a camp for seven years. Delegations of Indians, volunteers, Acadians, hunters from Missouri, coureurs de bois from all regions, and the French soldiers, bombardiers, canoneers, sappers, miners, such as had never been seen in the colony before—swarmed in the streets; and Perier's embarkation was puny and trifling in comparison to the two expeditions which Bienville led away from the levee in front of the Place d'Armes.”³¹

But disappointment awaited him. The first expedition met with disaster, not through the fault of Bienville but through the selfish ambition of the man who should have closely seconded his leader. De Villiers tells the story:

³⁰ Alvord, C. W., *The Illinois Country*, p. 168-169.

³¹ King, Grace, *New Orleans*, 77.

“Bienville’s plan was to march against the Chickasaws by ascending the Tombigby River, while d’Artaguette with the garrison from Illinois attacked the savages from the northwest. The two forces were to unite on May 10, 1736. Unfortunately Bienville was delayed three weeks, whereas d’Artaguette hastened his advance. A miserable rivalry existed between the two men. d’Artaguette, the brother of the former governor, wanted the honor of capturing the fort. He attacked too soon, his savage allies fled, he himself was taken prisoner and his troops retreated in disorder, abandoning to the Indians a rich store of ammunition. The Chickasaws put the imprudent leader to death amid horrible tortures. On May 26, Bienville undertook to attack the fort in his turn. The savages, commanded by the English, waited until their assailants were at the very foot of the palisades; then in two rounds of firing disabled some eighty men. All our savage allies naturally sought to save themselves and the French were obliged to retreat.”³²

The second expedition which Bienville undertook ended in so mortifying a failure that the governor in discouragement tendered his resignation. It was accepted and the Marquis de Vaudreuil was appointed to fill his place. Bienville, who is often called “the Father of Louisiana,” had certainly rendered splendid service to the colony during the thirty-five years he spent there. Yet “it seems always to have been his misfortune to be disliked and conspired against by his subordinates in office. Probably this is to be accounted for rather more by the jealousies and rivalries that characterized French administration in America than by any unusual combativeness in his own disposition.”³³

The man who succeeded him fared little better at the hands of the ordonnateurs. The history of Vaudreuil’s administration is filled with useless discussions and unjust reproaches which were poured out upon him by Le Normand, Salmon and de la Rouvillière. As de Villiers remarks, it seems to have been “an absolute system for the ordonnateurs always to try to block the action of the governors.”³⁴

The Royal Province was certainly in a very unsatisfactory condition when Vaudreuil took command in 1743. The colony had not prospered under the control of the King any more than under the management of the Company of the West. Louis XV took little pride in a region that cost the nation so much and brought in so miserable a revenue. Vaudreuil had great ambitions for the social and civil

³² de Villiers, M., *op cit.*, p. 21-22.

³³ Ogg, F. A., *Opening of the Mississippi*, 223.

³⁴ de Villiers, M., *op. cit.*, p. 24.

reorganization of the colony, but he was forced to attend rather to checking the Indian and English encroachments. He had at his command about 2,000 troops—probably half the white population of the colony, a fact indicative of the military character of the French occupancy of Louisiana even at the middle of the eighteenth century. Another incessant solicitude of the governor was the maintenance of communication with Canada by the portages of the north. As Louisiana depended to a great extent on the upper valley and the lake region for supplies, it was of utmost importance that these were not interfered with by the enemies of the French.

In 1752 Chevalier de Kerlérec was appointed to the governorship of Louisiana when Vaudreuil was transferred to Canada. He seems to have been a rather rough Breton sailor who knew how to make himself obeyed. This was a necessary quality in a commander who was left to his own resources for the guidance and protection of the colony. Like his predecessors, and indeed like nearly all other colonial governors, Kerlérec had his troubles with the men who were supposed to aid him. The Intendant, de Rochemore, was greatly to blame for much of the unpleasantness that ensued. A man of mediocre intelligence and narrow views, his whole activity was concentrated on proving his own importance and on making it impossible for others to act without his consent.

The years of Kerlérec's administration were the critical period for the French in America, yet the region of the Lower Valley was apparently forgotten by France. The resources which the nation could expend for colonial defense were being centered in the Ohio valley and along the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. In 1757 Kerlérec had had no communication from the French Government in two years, and the fair province of Louisiana was of no interest to France during the remaining years of the great struggle.

IV—THE SETTLEMENT OF RIVAL CLAIMS

The Treaty of Utrecht left to France the St. Lawrence and its valley, with Cape Breton Island defending the mouth of the river. The French possessions in the West Indies were flourishing and French pioneers were scattered through the vast valley of the Mississippi. If these extensive possessions were to be preserved to France the King would have to turn his full military strength into America and fortify the enormous stretch from the Great Lakes to the Gulf. It could have been done had not the policy which the Duke of Orléans and Louis XV followed been traditionally Bourbon. Looking at events

from an historical vantage ground, one might suppose that the French government had but one aim during the period under consideration—national aggrandisement at the expense of its nearest neighbors. French colonial interests were continually neglected; the King and his ministers seemed blind to the possibilities of imperial power in America, though they boasted loudly at times of humbling the English in the New World.

It would certainly have taken great exertion on the part of the French to establish their power permanently in the western hemisphere. This exertion they were not prepared to make. Distance and the disappointments connected with earlier colonial efforts blinded the Court to the urgency and profitableness of definite concentration of energies upon the transmarine portion of the realm. Scattered forces and temporizing measures through half a century worked havoc for the French in North America.

During the prostration from which Old France suffered in the years immediately following the Treaty of Utrecht, the Government had almost determined to abandon its American claims. A few years, however, sufficed to bring new vitality and with it some meager colonial activity directed to different parts of the continent. The Illinois country had been developing slowly since the dawn of the century when the missions of Cahokia (1699) and Kaskaskia (1703) were established.³⁵ By the time New Orleans was founded, the Illinois settlements had grown to some importance in the agricultural and commercial life of New France. This was due in part to its productive soil, facilities of transportation and location at the center of profitable Indian trade. During the "boom" of 1719, Cahokia and Kaskaskia increased in size and importance. About 800 new settlers took possession of large grants of land; mills and storehouses were built and negro slaves were introduced. Fort Chartres was erected in 1720 to check the growing English encroachments in the Ohio and the Mississippi. St. Philippe followed in 1723 and Prairie du Rocher ten years later. By 1740 there were nearly 3,000 settlers in the Illinois country.

In the north some defensive activity was shown. Once the strategic importance of Louisburg on Cape Breton Island was appreciated, the Government spent millions of dollars fortifying it.³⁶ But when the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748) was taken up in the colonies, this Gibraltar of the North capitulated to a force of New

³⁵ Thwaites, R. G., *Jesuit Relations*, 65:101-105; 263.

³⁶ Ogg, F. A., *Opening of the Mississippi*, p. 246.

England militia. Then for the first time the world realized that a new military power had grown up in America. Channing says: "Few disasters in the eighteenth century so overwhelmed the French with shame as did this catastrophe. They set on foot a great expedition to sail across the Atlantic, reconquer Louisburg, seize Acadia, and burn Boston."³⁷

A fleet of about sixty-five ships sailed from Brest in June, 1746, under the command of the Duc d'Anville. But calms and squalls, fog and gale, together with pestilence, wrecked the French plan. D'Anville died on the voyage, his successor committed suicide and the remnant of the expedition returned to France. A second fleet, sent out the following year, suffered defeat from the English squadron they met on the open sea.

During the same war there was some desultory fighting in the South, where the Georgian "sea to sea" charters urged the English to push their frontiers in the direction of the Mississippi settlements. These attacks on the French were of an insignificant nature, but they told the temper of the colonists with whom France had to deal in the New World.

The Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) gave but a nominal peace to Europe and America. The return to "status quo ante bellum" exasperated the English colonists, particularly because it gave back to France the fortress of Louisburg. British power in the New World was undoubtedly in the ascendancy and a conflict was in preparation which would settle forever the long-standing rivalry between English and French in the western world.

Up to this time the Mississippi valley had felt only slight effects from the colonial wars and had not once been mentioned in the peace treaties that brought lulls in the European storm from which fitful gusts blew westward across the Atlantic. Yet it was the desire to control the Ohio gateway to this great region that urged both parties to the next—the decisive—struggle on the American continent.

For more than fifty years the English had been trying to gain a foothold in the Mississippi valley. As early as 1682, La Salle had seen English goods in the hands of the natives living on the banks of the great river, and Bienville had met an English ship there a few months after his arrival in Louisiana. The French had sought steadily to forestall their rival's design and to push the British traders back from the gulf and the river. But the English, through their success with the Indians of this region, had held their ground.

³⁷ Channing, E., *History of the United States*, 2:548.

The territorial claims of the rival nations stood as follows when the peace treaty was signed in 1748: "The French were entitled by right of occupancy to the lands along the Mississippi and the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence so far as these did not properly belong to the Five Nations. On the other hand, the English were as clearly entitled to the Atlantic seashore from Lake Champlain and the Penobscot southward to Spanish Florida. They had not occupied the interior region between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi, but their extensive fur trade and influence with the natives may be said to have given them a better right to a large part of this country than the French enjoyed by reason of their few settlements on the middle Mississippi and its affluents. The country was open to the first occupant and it was a legitimate prize to fall to him who displayed the greatest activity."³⁸

Nature had planned three routes which gave access to the river basin beyond the Alleghanies; one around the northern end of the range to the lakes, another around the southern end, and a third through central Pennsylvania to the upper waters of the Ohio. From the north by way of the Mohawk valley, New York traders had been pressing hard, though for many years the Iroquois held back immigration by this passage. From the south the pioneers in Carolina and Georgia were coming around the Appalachians in an effort to make good their "sea to sea" charters, but here, too, the way was barred by Indians. Hence it was that the English advance into the Mississippi valley was by way of the central route. Every year brought the pioneers of the two nationalities closer together and so increased the probability of war.

The Trans-Alleghany situation was patent to Galissonière, the new governor at Quebec, who arrived there in 1747. That little hump-backed man had the alert mind and steady impulses which befitted a commander facing great odds. He had formed a decided plan to check the English wherever he could find them in the St. Lawrence or the Mississippi valley. His first step was the founding of Fort Rouillé at the modern Toronto, and the Mission of La Présentation under the Abbé Piquet near the site of Ogdensburg, to intercept trade now being carried on by the English at Oswego. Then he began, "with a finer appreciation of the true colonizing spirit than any of his predecessors, except, perhaps, Champlain had had, to urge upon the ministers the sending of sturdy peasants to occupy the Ohio valley. But he asked in vain."³⁹

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 2:556.

³⁹ Winsor, J., *Mississippi Basin*, p. 225.

From Vaudreuil in Louisiana appeals had reached the Minister of Marine for the erection of a fort on the Ohio, fifteen leagues from its mouth. This was deemed essential if the English were to be checked. He was convinced, too, of the necessity of such defense to preserve communication between Canada and Louisiana and to ward off Indian attacks. In the southern section of the valley the French had made trading treaties with the Creeks, Chickasaws and Choctaws, and were active in their efforts to win over the Cherokees, whom the English had taken under their protection in 1730. If France succeeded in establishing a firm influence over these tribes, she would be able to exclude any rival power both from western trade and from pretensions to sovereignty in that region.

The project of the Ohio Company, organized in 1748 in the interests of Virginia colonists but dependent in part on German settlers from Pennsylvania, roused the French officials who saw in this a reassertion of the old "sea to sea" charters. Application to the English government for 500,000 acres of land south of the Ohio was answered in May, 1749, by a royal grant of 200,000 acres and a promise of more. A second grant was secured by the Loyal Land Company, which was to organize settlements in what is now Tennessee and Kentucky.

Galissonière saw the danger early, and determined on energetic measures. Soon there was activity on Lake Erie—soldiers, voyagers, and Indians preparing canoes and bateaux to force their way to the Alleghany under the leadership of Céloron de Bienville. This force of white men and red, tramping through the heart of the wilderness, planted leaden plates from Lake Chautauqua down the Alleghany and the Ohio, and up the Miami, including a portion of the undisputed territory of the Iroquois. On the way they met several bands of English traders whom they ordered out of the country. It was easy to see that a clash in the Ohio valley could not be avoided.

Four years later another governor of Canada directed a thousand men to the same region. Constructing a road from Presqu'Isle to the Rivière aux Boeufs, they built Fort Le Boeuf (1753) on that tributary of the Alleghany, and Fort Machault on the Alleghany itself. At once Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent a protest by young George Washington, stating that the region thus occupied was in the territory of his colony and bidding the Canadians vacate it. The letter was forwarded to Governor Duquesne and Washington returned to Virginia.

In the meanwhile an English trading party had gone into the wilderness to build a post at a point of special vantage—the junction of the Alleghany and the Monongahela. Hardly had they accomplished

their work when a French force surprised the post, took it and changed the name to Fort Duquesne (April, 1754). Governor Dinwiddie had sent a force of some 300 men to strengthen the new fort at the forks of the Ohio. These, under the command of Washington, met the expelled garrison at Will's Creek (Cumberland, Md.), and went forward about fifty miles to Great Meadows, where they encountered and defeated a French detachment under Jumonville who was killed in the skirmish. Washington then built a rude shelter, Fort Necessity, which he defended for a time while awaiting reinforcements. But his efforts were in vain and on July 4th he surrendered the place to the French.

The following year British colonial expeditions were planned to seize the frontier posts in the Ohio valley. Under the command of General Braddock two regiments and 450 Virginia militia advanced from Will's Creek to within eight miles of Fort Duquesne. The details of this luckless expedition showed plainly that the English officers had something to learn from their colonial subordinates about frontier warfare. Only the cool intelligence of Washington saved a portion of the troops from the deadly fire of French and Indians hidden in ambush along the road. That first real battle of the final struggle for the heart of the continent was a dismal failure for the English.

Both England and France were making active preparations for the war that was as yet undeclared. In May, 1755, a large squadron sailed from Brest, carrying 3,000 troops and the new governor, Vaudreuil, to Canada. This was an effective addition to the thousand regulars already at Quebec and the 8,000 Canadian militia now drilling for the campaign. France had every right to send garrisons to her colonies, but the British admiral, Boscawen, had orders to stop them. Fog covered the passage of the French fleet and only two ships fell into the hands of the English (June, 1755). The news of this affair led to the recall of the French ambassador from London, but there was no declaration of war. By the end of the year 300 trading vessels had been captured by the British and 6,000 French seamen were in English prisons.

France was evidently biding her time, sending small detachments of men and ships to Canada and planning continental victories. The heart of the Government was not in the New World. The Mediterranean was claiming attention. Here the naval victory at Minorca obtained for France a great opportunity to which the Minister of Marine was evidently blind. Nothing was done to follow up this success and secure further advantages. "During the remainder of

this war the French fleets, except in the East Indies, appear only as the pursued in a general chase.”⁴⁰

When the formal declaration of war was made in 1756, England and Prussia stood allied against France and Austria. The colonies had already seen two years of fighting. British plans were laid with care, but colonial disunion and mutual distrust did not make for success. The English commanders in the first two years of the war proved a poor lot and offered little comfort to the home government. Disaster for England marked the years of 1756 and 1757, for the best arm that ever fought for France in the New World was bared to strike. Montcalm was in the field. Capturing Oswego in 1756, he made Ontario practically a French lake, for Niagara and Frontenac were already in his hands. The following summer he took Fort William Henry commanding the southern shores of Lake George. The situation looked dark for England. The French were pushing hard from the rear and the victory of Ticonderoga was another severe blow. It was evident that favoritism was poor policy in war as well as in peace.

At this juncture a great statesman and a great soldier stepped forward together to direct and to defend the colonial interests of England in America. Pitt and Wolfe, working hand in hand, saved the day and half the continent of North America for the British. The men whom Pitt put into the field were worthy of the trust. Louisburg fell again to the English in 1758 under the fire of Amherst and Wolfe; Fort Frontenac was seized by Bradstreet and Fort Duquesne by Forbes. In 1759 the Plains of Abraham saw a victory which told that the power of France was ended in America.

The struggle had not touched Louisiana directly. De Villiere attributes this entirely to Kerlérec: “During the Seven Years’ War the English, in spite of their victories in Canada and Florida, dared not attack Louisiana. This fortunate condition was due to the character of the governor, Chevalier de Kerlérec. History has forgotten his name, for in time of war the account to be handed down to posterity is that of victory . . . or of defeat. However, Kerlérec did more than many a conqueror. He prohibited the English from invading a country four times the size of France, with a garrison of not more than a thousand men. Of these the best soldiers were former deserters whose muskets were loaded with Spanish powder—and that usually damp.”⁴¹

⁴⁰ Mahan, A. T., *Influence of Sea Power*, p. 288-289.

⁴¹ de Villiers, M., *op. cit.*, Avant Propos, II.

Nevertheless, Louisiana was drawn into the vortex of ruin which affected all French colonies. Spain, alarmed by the progress which British imperialism was making in America and on the sea, pledged herself in 1761 to the celebrated Family Compact. By this she was to consider the enemies of France as her own enemies. When, however, English hostilities toward her island possessions bade fair to rob her of them, Spain soon made peace, for she realized that French strength was exhausted in both hemispheres.

The fate of the Great Valley was now sealed. After much discussion the Treaty of Paris was signed in February, 1763. From the American possessions of France it gave to England Canada, Nova Scotia, Cape Breton Island and all the interior of the continent east of the Mississippi, except the so-called Isle d'Orléans near the mouth of the river. France retained only the islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, for Spanish Florida, too, had been thrown into the British bargain and in return, Louisiana west of the Mississippi was ceded to Spain. With Canada and India gone, short-sighted, exhausted France could see little value in the Louisiana colony.

The treaty of cession was signed at Fontainebleau, November 3, 1762, by Choiseul and Grimaldi, and ratified at the Escorial by Charles III, ten days later. There was some hesitation on the part of Spain as to accepting the Louisiana province and it took diplomacy on the part of Choiseul to negotiate the settlement. It is evident that he was anxious to get rid of the colony, for he had offered it to England to obtain the restoration of Havana to Spain. When the offer was declined by the British he had Louis XV write to the King of Spain: "If New Orleans and Louisiana can be of any use to Your Majesty in restitution for Havana or as compensation for what you must give over to the enemy, I offer you the possession of it." ⁴²

At the same time Choiseul wrote to d'Ossun, the French Minister at Madrid: "The King himself thought that the cession which he made to Spain of Louisiana and New Orleans would be a very agreeable offer to His Catholic Majesty and would indicate the desire which the King has of proving to this Prince his friendship and gratitude. Do not let them think in Madrid that the sacrifice of Louisiana is of little cost. That colony is certainly the most beautiful and the most fertile as to soil among all that France possesses in America." ⁴³

Spain certainly showed no enthusiasm over the transfer of that vast territory to her possession, but as Minister Wall wrote to the Spanish ambassador in Paris, "as the same reasons which force on

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁴³ *Ibid.*,

France the necessity of the cession, counsel Spain to accept it, the King has done so, although he realizes fully that we have taken on ourselves an annual expense of 300,000 piasters in exchange for an advantage which is either negative or far-distant—that is the possession of a country just to keep it out of the hands of some one else.”⁴⁴

Spain was decidedly opposed to the English possession of the east bank of the Mississippi, knowing that the British flag flying on the river meant free access for all English merchants up and down the valley. But her objections were futile. England as victor dictated the terms of peace.

Even after the signing of the Treaty of Paris, the Fontainebleau agreement was not announced. The motive for concealing the change of domination is not evident. Perhaps Choiseul foresaw the trouble that would arise when the colony learned how a few strokes of the pen in Europe had decided the fate of its people and its immense territories; how friendship with Spain was valued more than Louisiana.

A letter announcing the cession was addressed to Kerlérec and never sent, as Spain declared she was not yet ready to occupy the new possession. Even from d’Abbadie, the new governor going out in 1763, the treaty was carefully concealed until the following year when it was announced to him in a letter from Versailles, dated April 21, 1764. The English waited two years after the Treaty of Paris before occupying the Illinois country, and Spain let six years pass before she took possession of New Orleans.

V—THE FAILURE OF THE FRENCH

So France made her last bow as a colonizing power on the stage of North America. Various and complicated are the reasons that may be adduced for her failure. The very lay of the land was against her. A glance at the map as it was in 1750 will show how the stage was set for the final act of the drama. The location of the English and French colonies called for a struggle. There was a compactness about the Atlantic coastal states which contrasted strongly with the vast open sweep of the French provinces. The chain of forts from Quebec to New Orleans, formidable as it looks when charted, had many a weak link. With an ever-increasing population the English pushed inexorably westward against the rival who, with a sprinkling of settlers, was attempting to hold dominion from the mouth of the St. Lawrence, through the heart of the continent to the mouth of the Mississippi.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

One can hardly conceive a different course of events, once the British colonies, aided by the home government, grew strong enough to strike at either end of the long chain or break through its central link in the Ohio valley. Only by maintaining a population greater than that of the British could France have overcome the handicap under which her daring explorers had placed her. But now the nation lacked man-power to build up populous colonies.

Colonial failure was inherent in the life of the nation. Old France was still an agricultural country, and had little need of colonies to improve the condition of her farming class. Without large manufacturing interests, she could not hope to build up a colonial market for her merchandise. Spain had tried to carry on development in the New World by the mining industry; now France wished to make it depend on fur trade—whose very existence demanded that agriculture should not advance into the continent. Between the farmsteads of the English and the hunting ranges of the French a clash was inevitable and the issue certain.

In general outline the French character has shown little fondness for emigration. Love of adventure in foreign lands has ever been a prominent national trait, exhibited nowhere with finer courage than in America. But the desire to pick up family and household goods, to break ties of friendship and homeland, and to seek uncertain fortune in distant countries without thought of returning to the mother country—this is not characteristic of the French.

The effort of statesmen can never supply for that strong natural impulse arising from a recognized need in a large portion of the people. Successful colonization springs from popular need and is essentially dependent on national character. The English, and not the French, have proved themselves the world's great colonizers. Their settlements have flourished because they have grown of themselves, naturally. The English colonist has shown the same qualities wherever he has laid the foundations of a new life. He has settled down steadily in the country to which he came, has identified his interests with it, and while keeping an affectionate remembrance of the home he left, he has evinced no restless yearning to return there. Fields and shops, assemblies and churches have been his element. With a sure instinct he has sought to develop the resources of the new country and with enthusiasm he has learned to say of it, "This is my own, my native land."

The French colonist, ever looking back to the pleasant homeland left behind, has acted differently. In America he took to the lakes and rivers and forests, cultivated the Indian and sought gain along

adventurous lines. His is the picturesque history of explorers intent on discovery, traders on furs, missionaries on souls. Spreading over half the continent, hunting the beaver and trafficking with the red man, the Frenchman failed to fix a grasp on any portion of the New World.

The results of these two modes of colonial action seem to prove that the character of the colonist, rather than the policy of the home government, is the principal factor in colonial progress. While Canada languished, thirteen English states developed on the Atlantic coast and became populous, rich and strong. At the beginning of the Seven Years' War there were about 80,000 white inhabitants in New France, while the British colonies could boast of 1,160,000. One reason, then, for French failure in America had its seat in the very nature of the people of France.

This does not, however, wholly exonerate the Government from blame. Colonial history seems to indicate that the people who have been trained in self-government have had a greater chance for success than those who have had to yield to absolutism. Highly centralized forms of government, with only a modicum of local autonomy, appear with peculiar regularity in French history. This feature was conspicuous in America, where the colonists accepted from France a direction in private affairs which the English settlers would never have tolerated. The authority of the French governors was unquestioned. The King did not parley with his subjects; he commanded them. No civil commission came to Canada to make inquiry into alleged breaches of loyalty; instead a crack regiment of a thousand men was sent over by Louis of France. English colonial assemblies could confront the representatives of British power and had to be dealt with fairly, but the Estates of Canada could not even gather in the Cathedral of Quebec to assist at the governor's inauguration.

Individual initiative was condemned by paternalism. In every French village the commandant, the judge and the notary kept directly in touch with the royal court. The baneful influences of such limitations reached far. The French settlers, lacking political activity, were unprepared to begin or carry through any measure for the protection of their own interests. The paternal, centralizing system of France had taught the colonists to look to the mother-country in all things, and when that fond parent failed them, they were lost.

The governors of Canada and Louisiana did what they could to supply for defects and weaknesses. Their action was perhaps more consistent and better planned than that of the English governors. But when the carelessness of the home government grew to neglect, when

continental entanglements absorbed the energies and exhausted the strength of France, then nothing could take the place of the capacity which the English colonists had developed for looking out for themselves. There was little attraction in New France when it offered so many hardships and so little freedom. The colonies were cared for as a piece of property, valued for its returns and not for its vital worth. Official positions in the colonial government were posts of rich income for favorites or men with influence enough to secure them. Legislation was directed toward national gain in wealth with little consideration for the people actually living in the colonies.

The defects of the French policy are best realized when contrasted with the colonial results effected by British sagacity. The English settlers, with their genius for independent action, progressed from rivalry to victory, untrammelled by the home government. The germ of self-development which lay deep in the national character was nourished in an atmosphere of liberty and democracy. "It was not alone two races, then, or two territorial rivals that clashed in the mighty conflict between France and England for the North American continent. It was two ideals of government: on the one side, a paternalism supported by military force; on the other, a jealous tenacity of individual rights five centuries old."⁴⁵

We may lay at the door of the French Court another cause of failure—the unwise choice of officials who represented royal authority in the New World. The jealous rivalry, the personal selfishness, the ambitious greed which characterized many of the officers who came out from France and handicapped the men of worth who tried in vain to build firm foundations for colonial power—all tell a tale whose climax was the failure of the French. Adventurous leaders they were, yet unwise in policy toward the red men and spiteful in rivalry among themselves. Even at the door of Champlain the failure is sometimes laid. When he made the expedition to the lake that bears his name and foolishly brought on enmity and war with the Iroquois, he made an enemy for France of all the tribes at the back door of the English settlements. These Indians became in the nature of a protecting agency for the English in their vulnerable rear.

The names of La Salle and Frontenac, Iberville and Bienville, Vaudreuil and Kerlérec recall the incessant struggle carried on in the north and south alike. Intrigues, cabals, denunciations were the order of day in a government whose duality of command lent itself naturally to rivalry and weakness. Affairs in Canada when danger threat-

⁴⁵ Muzzey, D. S., *United States of America*, 1:45.

ened most, illustrate the joint. The Marquis de Montcalm, an excellent soldier and a cultured gentleman, arrived at Quebec in 1756 to take command of all the military forces in Canada. Vaudreuil, the governor, did not like this diminution of his own authority. Bigot, the intendant and head of finances, was even less well pleased, and acting under the conviction that neither the irresolute governor nor the heroic general could save New France from the English, he hurried up the course of his peculations, hoping that catastrophe would cover all evidence of his guilt. The governor, no doubt, shared in the spoils. This corruption was a real handicap to Montcalm, cutting off, as it did, the supplies needed for the army, increasing the expenses of the war and making it very difficult to get recruits. Moreover, the jealous governor did not cease trying to discredit Montcalm with the home authorities.

The general, disgusted with the situation, was ready to resign his command when news came that Forts Duquesne and Frontenac were lost. On April 12, 1759, he wrote to the minister of war: "We were driven from Fort at the end of November. We might have hoped that this attack would have been deferred by the English until April, but the enemy knew through the savages and our deserters M. de Vaudreuil's too public order to abandon the place. I was never informed of the instructions or the news [of the defeat]." ⁴⁶ Feeling that honor demanded him to remain in Canada, Montcalm retained command and met Wolfe at Quebec the following autumn.

If individual French leaders are made to bear in part the blame for France's loss, there is an Englishman who deserves mention as a prominent, if not a primary cause of that catastrophe. For two years the English forces in America met with uninterrupted disaster. Then Fortune turned and smiled on the British government as she placed at its helm "a man incorruptible among a gang of thieves, far-visioned amid a crowd of opportunists, energetic, confident, generous, resourceful in a public service on which the blight of fear and irresolution had settled. William Pitt . . . turned the war in both hemispheres from a feeble and timorous defensive into a bold and planful attack all along the line. Defying the claims of birth and the clamor of place-men, he chose his generals and admirals for valor and counsel alone." ⁴⁷

A year of victory followed for England—victory that was to remain in history as an imperishable tribute to the genius of Pitt,

⁴⁶ de Villiers, M., *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁴⁷ Muzzey, D. S., *op. cit.*, 1:50.

whose policy had won a triumph for British imperialism not only in America but in far-off India and on the continent of Europe.

The entanglements which so engrossed the military energy of France during the first half of the eighteenth century were certainly a cause of that non-support of which colonists and officials so frequently complained. The false policy of continental expansion and loss of sea power worked steadily to undermine French power at home and abroad, swallowing up the country's resources and leaving defenseless both commerce and colonies. The official correspondence from Canada and Louisiana is full of incessant petitions for military aid and for provisions from the home-land. Louisiana was left as long as four years without the arrival of a royal ship, and Canada was garrisoned only for a last stand, while the vast valley of the interior with its scattered forts and villages was hardly thought of.

When war had torn from France the great possessions she had not foresight to value properly, the Government was hardly conscious of the extent of the loss. It seemed rather to evince relief at the stoppage of over-sea expenses, and to give little thought to the empire thrown away. Distressed France was by her humiliation in the continental outcome of the war and her consequent loss of European prestige.

Typically French is the pleasure which Choiseul seemed to derive from the thought of the future trouble in store for Great Britain through the increased area of her colonial possessions—a pleasure heightened, no doubt, by the consideration that the newly acquired portions of that vast area would no longer expect protection and provision from France. This attitude toward the colonies demonstrates beyond question the apathy and short-sighted diplomacy which characterized the whole history of French domination in America.

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THE TRUTH TELLER

New York already possessed two papers the purpose of which was to defend the cause of Ireland and its people in America. It was soon to have another journal, in which Ireland and Catholicity were the chief topics of discussion. Until the birth of the *Truth Teller*, on April 2, 1825, the attitude of New York Irish journals seems to have been to treat religion incidentally only in so far as it affected the vital issues of Irishmen in their native land. In fact, Protestants without distinction could read these papers without fear of having their religious convictions disturbed or altered by such perusal.

In this respect the *Truth Teller* adopted a different position from that of its predecessors. We can not mistake its purpose if we read the editorial address in the initial number of the paper. It is exceedingly difficult to discover the reason which prompted the editor to write about a matter so irrelevant to the cause of Irish Catholics in America, especially at a time when his pen should have been directed against the malignant prejudices reviving in almost every American city. The spirit of this editorial, aimed principally at the subservient press in England and incidentally at the Evangelical movement then in full swing in Ireland, shows that the article may have previously appeared in the *London Truth Teller*, whose editor-in-chief, like that of the periodical in New York, was William Eusebius Andrews.²

That this staunch and energetic Catholic should have lent his assistance towards the establishment of a Catholic newspaper in America ought to occasion no surprise, since he was known to the people in this country as an apologist, who had written many able works on controversial subjects. In 1816 he published "*The Historical Narrative of the Horrid Plot of Conspiracy of Titus Oates.*" In 1822 he contributed eighteen pamphlets on the "*Ashton Controversy,*" and at the time the *New York Truth Teller* was established, he was completing a masterly refutation of the calumnies contained against Catholics in Fox's "*Book of Martyrs.*"

Andrews was born at Norwich, England, in 1773 of humble parents, who were converts to Catholicity. He had served an apprentice-

¹The files of the *Truth Teller* form the chief source of information for the facts stated in this narrative. Hence where dates are given, no fuller reference will be given. Complete volumes for about fifteen years may be found in the Library of Georgetown University, Shea Historical Collection.

²Biographical sketch may be found in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. I.

ship in the printing office of the *Norfolk Chronicle* and by diligent application rose to be editor of that paper, which post he held until he became the promoter of the Catholic cause in 1813. From that time until the establishment of the *London Truth Teller* in 1824, he conducted in turn the *Orthodox Journal and Monthly Vindicator*, and the *Catholic Advocate of Civil and Religious Liberty*. He also controlled the *London Catholic Miscellany* and the *People's Advocate*, a sort of political journal. Although Mr. Andrews was a defender of the civil and religious liberty of Catholics, he opposed O'Connell in most of his London papers, strange to say, with unusual vigor.

The other few facts we have regarding the character of William Andrews are learned from his own mouth, on the occasion of a dinner tendered him by his friends and admirers in the great metropolis of England. He came to London in 1812 unknown to a single individual. He was obliged to undergo many sacrifices on account of his religious convictions. In 1806 speculation would have made him a rich man, but he rejected the tempting offer because he felt it would compromise his religious principles. There was something that he treasured more than wealth and distinction—that was his Catholic faith. Fortified with these sterling qualities he was well equipped to battle for the best interests of his co-religionists. A Catholic press was indispensable in the great cause of Catholic freedom. Its friends had been so long accustomed to the yoke of oppression that they had become guilty of supineness. The influence of the press was necessary to stir Catholics to action, in order that they might arm themselves with the privileges to which they were by nature entitled. He recognized that the civil immunities which would come to Irish Catholics by the passage of the Emancipation measure would be of little benefit to them if they were prevented from the enjoyment of those rights by being stigmatized by their opponents as dangerous to the safety of the state.³

A similar situation presented itself in America. For years the Federalists had made it serve their purpose to brand foreigners and especially Irishmen, as enemies of our free institutions. Defeated several times in attempts to beguile the people of this country into a policy which would give the Puritan element of the American population an ascendancy in Church and State, they at last had to resort to new tactics. Under the obnoxious garb of Federalism they knew they could achieve but little. Hence they discarded that name, formed alliances with other discontented factions in politics, and con-

³ *The Globe and Emerald*, Vol. I.

tinued their pursuit of power by endeavoring to arouse religious prejudices against Catholics. This desperate attempt to subvert the principles of government, which guaranteed freedom of conscience to all, was an open challenge to Catholics to cross swords with the enemy.

Catholics had long been trained to suffer these persecutions without a retort. But the time for silence was past. The gauntlet had been thrown down by the ministers of the Gospel, and Catholics concluded at length to accept the call to combat. Their weapons, like those of their enemies, were to be the platform and the press, and before the battle ended Catholics were destined to taste the fruits of victory. Thus, in this struggle to maintain their civil and religious freedom, the *Truth Teller* early became by force of circumstances the mouthpiece of Catholics in New York City.

The first six issues of this periodical, edited under the name of W. E. Andrews and Co., contained hardly an item of strictly Catholic domestic interest, aside from a brief notice calling attention to a meeting in the city of those interested in Catholic Emancipation. A discussion of this question and the political activities surrounding it furnish the bulk of the news from abroad in those years which precede the passage of the measure. Thus in the first issue there is a report of the deliberations of the Catholic Association in Dublin, taking up six columns of the paper. Other matters of a general nature appeared. Two columns are given to Cobbett's "*History of the Protestant Reformation*," and a page to an essay on "*The Science and Literature of the Middle Ages*." The last page contained a column of original verse and some advertisements, one or two of which have a peculiar interest. Charles O'Connor, the son of Thomas O'Connor, the editor of *The Shamrock*, advertises himself as a Counsellor at Law, 10 Frankfort St. Joseph Bonfanti had the following ingenious rhythmical advertisement which must have furnished amusement to the people of even his day: "Fancy store, 297 Broadway, opposite Washington Hall. Joseph Bonfanti begs respectfully to inform the public, that he has, at present, an unusual variety of fancy articles, which he is disposing of on very reasonable terms. Among innumerable other useful ornamental requisites he has:

A wonderful bird the size of a bee
That flutters his wings as he would on a tree;
Hops, twitters, and sings on the lid of a box,
In which he hides quickly when anyone knocks.

Large elegant timepieces playing sweet tunes,
 And cherry stones, too, that hold ten dozen spoons,
 And clocks that chime sweetly on nine little bells,
 And boxes so neat, ornamented with shells.

There's keys and there's seals, which are musical, too,
 And snuff-boxes playing some tunes that are new;
 With beautiful dolphins and whales for a bride
 To hang on her bosom with watches inside.

There's rings for the finger and pins for the neck
 Of every new fashion the ladies to deck;
 In both of which watches that go when wound up
 Will tell you the moment to breakfast or sup.

Head-dresses for ladies and combs for your lasses,
 Thread cases and needles and round quizzing glasses,
 The best of court plaster for scratches and pimples,
 Steel, silver, and plated and all other thimbles.

Here's drawing room ornaments whiter than plaster,
 A beautiful stuff which is called alabaster;
 For beauty and elegance nothing surpasses,
 Arranged on the chimney-piece in front of the glasses.

Gold miniature frames and kid gloves in nut shells,
 Needle cases, scissors for matrons or belles;
 Tooth brushes, pomatum, and nail brushes small,
 If I counted till doomsday, I can not count all."

It is probable that these stanzas were composed by Samuel Woodworth, the author of "*The Old Oaken Bucket*." After severing his relations with the *War*, a newspaper which he and Thomas O'Connor conducted in 1812, he was reduced almost to poverty. His sons in after years succeeded Bonfanti in this enterprising business.⁴

Fully seven months elapsed before the names of the American editors are found in the first column of the paper. No doubt, they directed the journal from its beginning, but not till after the sixth issue does the paper lose its English flavor. At that time Pardow and Denman realized that they had to take into account the increasing

⁴ *Records and Studies of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society of New York*, Vol. III. An article on the *Truth Teller*.

importance and necessity of a well-conducted defense of Catholicism. That the *Truth Teller* had a mission to fulfill is evident from the strong replies to English and American anti-Catholic newspapers. The power of newspaper misrepresentation in 1825 was so alarming as to seem almost incredible. It often became the duty of the editors with the limited ammunition at their disposal, for both were laymen of no theological training, to hold up the conduct and the motives of these vilifiers to the disgust of unbiased minds.

In the division of work it is probable that George Pardow took charge of the business side of this journalistic enterprise, for his early life was given to commercial pursuits. He was descended from an old Catholic family of Lancashire. In 1799 he married Elizabeth Seton. He conducted for many years a wholesale hardware and pen business in England. When he emigrated to America in 1823 he also transported his business to New York, where he opened a shop in Maiden Lane.⁵ Perhaps it was in some corner of this establishment that the publication office of the *Truth Teller* was first located. Mr. Pardow continued in partnership with Mr. Denman until 1830, when he severed his connections with the paper. Pardow, until his death in 1847, took an active part in local Catholic affairs in New York, where for many years he was a trustee of St. Peter's Church. Both he and his wife were buried in the cemetery adjoining St. Patrick's Cathedral.

The information we have of Major Denman before his arrival on the field of journalism shows that his past history is very interesting. His father was a German, his mother an Alsatian, while he claimed Edinburgh, Scotland, as the place of his nativity. He was born on St. Patrick's Day, 1784. He saw service in the English army and was wounded at the Battle of Waterloo. Denman seems to have been proud of his military career, although in appearance he was anything but a soldier. His dwarfish figure enveloped in a huge military cloak must have been a curious sight to the New Yorkers of his day. He boasted of the rank of major, although as early as 1832 his right to that rank was questioned. The other facts we possess regarding his life and character are so inseparably linked with the *Truth Teller* that the events which made up those years form an integral part of its history and will be told later in chronological order.

In the issue of April 23, 1825, the editor prints another diatribe on the provincial press of England. The language was hardly too

⁵ *Records and Studies of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society.*

strong when one considers the narrowness and bigotry displayed by these foreign papers. The *Blackburn Mail* called the *London Truth Teller* "a Jesuistical newspaper edited by Pope Eusebius." Statements such as these merited a drastic reply, and Mr. Denman's fiery nature was well suited to drown their folly in an ocean of ridicule. In fact, at times he raved so much that correspondents complained that his abuse of the English was too severe.

While these tirades displeased some, others applauded them as justifiable and necessary. If the support that his paper received is any criterion of its popularity, the *Truth Teller* had nothing to fear, for the editor at the end of six months was able to state that his journal had a circulation equal to any weekly in the city. In taking a retrospect of the half year, he was also proud to announce his influence in checking the widespread abuse of Catholicism by the public press.

At the beginning of the year 1826 we have fresh evidence that the paper was receiving the confidence and support of the Catholic clergy and laity of the United States. The editor informs us that he counts among his contributors many priests of high standing and acknowledged talents. Thus the deficiencies of the publishers were often supplied by clever controversial articles, written by Father Thomas C. Levins, under the *nom de plume* of Berkeley or Fergus MacAlpin. Many prominent Catholic laymen of New York, such as Dr. MacNeven, Thomas O'Connor and Thomas S. Brady, helped the cause of Ireland and Catholicism by a number of interesting contributions.⁶ The fact that the *Truth Teller* never lacked these champions must have encouraged the editors greatly, for these writings added much to the respectability of the journal.

As the paper became more widely known, and more powerful in silencing the illiberal portion of the press in the city, the editors of many journals in and near the great metropolis deemed the communications and discussions in the *Truth Teller* of sufficient importance to reprint them. In doing so they manifested their own liberality of sentiment and assisted the Catholic cause by finding readers that the *Truth Teller* could not hope to reach.

To get, however, a correct idea of this paper we ought also to know some of its defects. The editors were not slow to recognize that many imperfections did exist. This is particularly noticeable after the fourteenth issue of the paper, when the publishers assumed

⁶ *Records and Studies of the U. S. Catholic Historical Society of New York*, Vol. III.

the additional burden of printing, which until that time had been performed by Toohey and McLaughlin, 11 Spruce St.

In the issue of January 7, 1826, "A Lover of Truth," after praising the periodical for the good it had accomplished, made some valuable criticisms, suggesting improvement in the manner of conducting the paper. "Justice," he says, "compels me to add that sometimes you use assertion when argument would be more pleasing, you have once or twice touched upon topics that prudence would whisper 'avoid!' It is almost unnecessary therefore for me to suggest for your future consideration two simple sentences: 'Festina lente.' 'Always look before you leap.'"

The *Truth Teller* in its carelessness in handling clippings from other papers, sometimes forgot to mention the source from which it drew its information, thus violating the rules of editorial propriety. This oversight sometimes embarrassed the editor. The *Albany Microscope*, in an article entitled "Foul Play," charged the publisher of the *Truth Teller* with willful plagiarism. Such practices of copying were freely indulged in by many journals of the day, but their evil example ought rather to have deterred the *Truth Teller*. The paper, however, soon had the satisfaction of seeing the editor of the *Albany Microscope* bite the dust. For the very article, which that paper accused the *Truth Teller* of stealing from its pages, was shown conclusively to have been taken by the *Microscope* from Hunt's *London Examiner*.

Another patron writing during the year 1829 shows that the paper was beginning to betray some signs of a decline in vigor. He says: "I have witnessed with infinite satisfaction the eminently successful endeavors made by you to annihilate the prejudices existing against us here, and to rally around our common standard the friends of Ireland and liberty of every creed and clime. . . . While I ascribe to you full merit for the past, allow me not to be understood as unmindful either of the present or the future. Your journal *has been good*, and in point of *matter* is passibly good *now*. It has been *better*, and I am persuaded may be effectively *better* still. Your paper has recently been lamentably incorrect. I mean in typographical execution. . . . A little more care and a spice of assiduity in revising your columns would make them far less exceptionable. Your type, however, is woefully worn and deserves to be allowed to retire from future service." The *Truth Teller* received these criticisms in good part and beginning with July 4th, 1829, it was enlarged from a page ten by fourteen inches to a full-size folio sheet; new type also was procured.

During the month of May the news of the victory for Catholic Emancipation reached America. This was an occasion of much rejoicing all over the United States. In Philadelphia, the mayor immediately made the request that the chimes of Christ Church should be rung during an entire day. He likewise ordered that the bell which first proclaimed the independence of the United States should send out its peal of liberty the whole of the next day. A Roman Catholic, an Episcopalian, and a Jew mingled their felicitations on the happy event. Rev. Father Hughes preached at a solemn thanksgiving service in St. Augustine's Church. A solemn *Te Deum* was sung in many cities. In New York a pastoral letter of the Bishop announced June 21 as a day of sacred thanksgiving and ordered the *Te Deum* to be chanted in the Cathedral. The Friendly Sons of St. Patrick also rejoiced on this occasion and celebrated the event by a banquet at Niblo's Tavern in Broadway.

While Catholics, Irishmen, and the patrons of civil and religious liberty generally were exulting over the victory achieved by O'Connell, their enemies were not idle. The triumphs of Catholicity succeeded in alarming and arousing the susceptibilities of a hostile faction in American politics. The plan of a concerted action on the part of seventy-three ministers attached to the Presbyterian and the Dutch Reformed Churches in New York City to spread their anti-Catholic movement over the length and breadth of the United States soon became manifest. They chose the press as one of their weapons to carry on systematic warfare. A newspaper was established by them in New York City and directed by one Parson Brownlee. The *Jesuit and Catholic Sentinel* put into circulation about the same time in Boston, thus characterized this sheet: "It is a paper so notoriously infamous as to reject disgrace upon the very name it has imprudently assumed—a paper from whose profligacy of expression, Satanic baseness, anti-social, anti-Christian spirit, the sensible, respectable, and virtuous Protestants of New York and the Union at large shrink with honest Christian indignation."⁷

In spite of the fact that self-respecting Protestants spurned this paper as injurious to the very cause for which they labored, it nevertheless fanned the passions and prejudices of non-Catholics to white heat. This begins the period of controversy in almost every center of Catholic population in the United States.

⁷ *Records and Studies of the United States Catholic Historical Society of New York.* Article on the "*Revivals of Religious Intolerance.*"

To test the credulity of the *Protestant*, and perhaps to furnish a little amusement for himself and his friends, Father Hughes, of Philadelphia, afterwards Archbishop of New York, wrote in this journal some extravagant communications known as the "Cranmer Letters." The hungry *Protestant* swallowed the bait with avidity and called for more. For about four months Father Hughes manufactured the most ludicrously false accounts about the Catholic Church and its ceremonies that could be imagined. Parson Brownlee himself could not have written better. "Mark," said Father Hughes, speaking of this affair later, "Mark how he bespatters me with his dirty eulogy:⁸ 'Our Philadelphia friend communicates his melancholy intelligence in a very evangelical spirit of sensibility and fervor. We trust Cranmer will remember that his letters are sermons of momentous importance and they are now read with intense and increasing interest by a rapidly augmenting host of Protestants of a like spirit. The oftener we decorate our columns with such pathetic appeals and heart-stirring facts, the more encouragement we shall feel to blow the trumpet in Zion and sound the alarm on the Holy Mountain. We hope our correspondent will supply us with a plenty of Gospel ammunition and it shall be discharged so as to produce the desired effect.'"⁹

The time came to throw off the mask, so in the issue of July 3, 1830, of the *Truth Teller*, Father Hughes explodes the whole plot by a full page exposition, entitled "Cranmer Converted; or An Address to Those Ministers of the Gospel who have recommended *The Protestant* to the Patronage of the Christian Public." So cleverly was this denouement executed that we shall give it in the language of Father Hughes:

"Gentlemen: In the first number of the *Protestant* it was evident that the editor was prepared to disregard all law except the law of libel. Its friends wished, and its enemies naturally expected, that in conformity with its title it would have proved an honest advocate of Protestantism. Has it done so, gentlemen? Has it not, on the contrary, been a disgrace to the cause? Has it not in six short months sullied your names and covered itself with infamy? Are not the epithets which it applied to the Roman Catholics too vile for the approval of gentlemen, too gross except for the meridian of a fish market? Has it ever contained one dignified paragraph, except those

⁸ *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, by John R. G. Hassand. New York, D. Appleton & Co. 1866.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 106.

furnished in derision by some Catholic like myself? If the editor is too stupid by nature and want of education, you, indeed, could not help that:—but if he is destitute of moral principle, if even the respectability of your names can not raise him to the level of common decency, why will you degrade your profession by stooping and staying below it for *his* accommodation? Your enemies say that you and your sect are impelled by the desire of religious pre-eminence over your fellow citizens of other denominations. They say—and remember the accusation does not originate with Catholics—that being prematurely detected in your plans and seeing but little chance of success whilst the eye of the public is on you, you have hit upon the unworthy expedient of raising the hue and cry against the unoffending Catholics, and representing *them* as the persons who are preparing to tear up the charter of American liberty, which was signed with Catholic ink and sealed with Catholic blood. They say that your object is to send the strong, but perhaps innocent prejudices of the American people, in pursuit of imaginary game, in order that, pending the chase, you may cement the bonds of matrimony between church and state and then regale the weary hunters at the nuptial feast. I hope if ever such a banquet should be spread the guests will be dressed in mourning.

All this, Gentlemen (in the which I judge you not), has been said to you, and your recommendation of the *Protestant* have been referred to as proof. It was said that no other motive could have induced you to stake your names and your reputation for a periodical, which, pretending to be religious, violated all the rules of religious charity, truth and social decency. We know indeed from history that men pretending to be ministers of the Gospel like yourselves, and influenced by the same motives which are supposed to govern you, have recourse to means equally or even more degrading to their clerical character. We know in fact that political ambition, fired by the spark of religious fanaticism, is sufficient to make men use the pulpit, and go down to hell for instruments (if instruments could there be found), for the accomplishment of their schemes.

I trust, however, gentlemen, that nothing of this kind is to be apprehended from you. But, really, there are circumstances which render your motives the object of legitimate suspicion. One of your most zealous but most unwise politicians has declared the wish of the whole to see 'a religious party in Politics.' Another, more ingenuous still, dreading a miscarriage would be the consequence of longer concealment, avowed openly that the church was pregnant

with the design, and, like an upright man, advocated the necessity of solemnizing the union, which would make her an honest mother and her children a sacred progeny. Meantime, as small things are not to be neglected, you have all, gentlemen, betrayed an unaccountable partiality for certain texts of Scripture in preference to others, and more particularly for those which say 'Thy kingdom come.' You have all recommended the *Protestant*, and the editor of the paper, since the day you clothed him with the authority of your names, has laughed at all moral as well as official respectability. He seems to think that to have his falsehoods endorsed by seventy-three 'ministers of the Gospel' he is privileged to lie in every page and paragraph and line of his polluted hebdomadal.

Gentlemen, I have read nothing in the annals of knight errantry so chivalrous as your conduct in this matter. They of the Middle Ages went forth generally to realize an image in the mind, a 'beau ideal.' You were love-smitten by the sound of a *name*. But alas! the ardor of your gallantry carried you too far *this time*. The *Protestant* is, in sooth, a pretty name but she has proved a faithless spouse. Send her away, gentlemen, and take the advice of a friend and never marry another as you have married her—in the dark.

But to speak in plainer language, gentlemen, although I do not suppose that the pride of poor human nature or the shame of inconsistency will permit you, now to withdraw your signatures, still I have too good an opinion of some at least among you to believe that you would ever have signed it, had you foreseen the disgrace in which it was destined to involve you before the public. You would have imitated from policy if not from principle the noble course of many of your reverend brethren who refused to recommend a proposition so violently slanderous. How great is the number of respectable Protestant clergymen who condemn it! And of those who have signed it, gentlemen, with the exception of about twenty (whose names we are sorry to find in the catalogue), what do we see but the clerical scum of the country, men who are a stain on the Bible and a discredit to the black coat; who supply the want of learning by rant, and of piety by preaching up the bad passions of their hearers into hatred against the persons and belief of the Roman Catholics.

Now, gentlemen, lest your impatience should be excited by the length of this production I must now inform you that the writer of this is the author of those letters in the *Protestant* signed 'Cranmer,' which have attracted so much notice and elicited so much praise. I must be candid, gentlemen, and tell you, like two or three other

Catholics of that city who have been writing for that paper under different signatures, I have woven in as many lies as possible.

And it is remarkable that the greater the slander the greater the eulogium that was bestowed on me by the editor, and the better Protestant he said I was! Oh, gentlemen, I feel for you when I saw like this man for whose integrity you have pawned your reputation, too stupid to conceal his own knavery or save the bail which had been tendered with so much disinterestedness. He saw in my anonymous communication a number of falsehoods which I rendered obvious and palpable on purpose but they were against the Catholics and he immediately pronounced me a genuine Protestant, and your recommendations entitle him to belief. In this, gentlemen, you pay a dearly bought compliment to your religion.

But perhaps you ask how my conscience would allow me to gratify, even in jest, the editor's craving for slanderous matter wherewith to season his weekly dish. The fact is that I had a scruple at first—and at last I was obliged to quit lest the hungry expectants would commit gluttony. I imagined myself in the belief that I was writing romance like Dr. Ely in his '*Dreams*' and '*Visions of Mercy*,' Carter in his '*Letter from Europe*,' or Brother Christmas in his account of the Montreal Controversy. I thought, too, I was justified by the example of the missionaries writing to their societies from all parts of the world when their money has run out, and the more so as I did not write for filthy lucre. Thirdly, I knew that you gentlemen and the editor alone would be responsible for any falsehood you might think proper to publish. Fourthly, I was satisfied that no enlightened man would believe a line published in *The Protestant*, except he knew from other sources that it was true, and that no modest women who had read it once by accident would ever read it again by design. Fifthly, I wanted to ascertain whether or not conscience had anything to do with the columns of the *Protestant*—I found it had not!—I found that from the moment I spoke against Catholics and adopted the signature of the cowardly, cruel, and hypocritical 'Cranmer' I might write anything, however false (nay the falser the better) and it would be published under the sanction of your name. In a word I could not find a line *deep enough* to fathom the editorial depravity of the *Protestant*. It is time now by putting him and you gentlemen and a few of the falsehoods in juxtaposition to see how you stand.''

Father Hughes next placed in three parallel columns the editorial comments of the *Protestant* on his communications, Cranmer's letters, and the approval, recommendation, and names of the journal's clerical patrons. How these ministers of the Gospel must have writhed un-

der the powerful criticism of this intellectual Hercules! The *Protestant*, smarting with indignation and shame, attempted to pronounce the long article of Father Hughes in the *Truth Teller* a forgery of some Catholic priest in New York City, but these vile slanderers forgot that they were dealing with a skillful strategist. Father Hughes, provoked by the persistent boldness and impudence of his adversaries, sent a communication to the *Truth Teller* in which he authorized Mr. Denman to close a bet of five hundred dollars with the editor of the *Protestant* or any of the seventy-three ministers: "That there were in the city of Philadelphia alone not fewer than four Catholics who had been in the habit of communicating all manner of suitable trash for its columns."

This silenced the *Protestant* for a short time but its editor could not conceal his chagrin; and to relieve the embarrassing situation wrote a pseudo-communication signed "Cranmer," expecting to turn the tables on Father Hughes. But the latter was more than a match for his opponent. This time the amount stated was one thousand dollars. Once more the *Protestant* was compelled to retreat, the victim of its own folly.

But there is a sequel to this narrative that rivals in interest the main plot itself. Rev. Father Levins, writing over the signature "Fergus MacAlpin," was a regular contributor to the *Truth Teller*. His stinging satires written in a pleasing, masterly style must have attracted many readers to the paper. The dialogues and discussions carried on by the "Sheet Anchor Brotherhood" were addressed "To the Seventy-three Calvinistic Parsons of *The Protestant*." We can easily imagine how strangely MacAlpin's wealth of classical learning must have contrasted with the penury of intellect displayed in the sectarian press which he was attacking.

But Fergus MacAlpin was endowed with a fiery nature which sometimes carried him to too great lengths. Never was he more guilty of a false step than at the time these "Cranmer Letters" were being exposed. Starting with 'Scrip Seventh' he began a flaying process on the conduct of his brother priest in respect to the *Protestant*. The pseudo-Cranmer letter was so repeatedly attributed by MacAlpin to Catholics, that the latter was obliged to buckle on his armor again to clash shields with MacAlpin. He wrote the following letter to the editor of the *Truth Teller*:

"Mr. Editor: When ignorance and insolence co-habit they are sure to beget error and obstinacy. Two weeks ago I disclaimed the authorship of a certain letter ascribed to my pen by Fergus MacAlpin. I should be supposed to know whether I wrote it or not. I have

already denied it and yet MacAlpin in the *Truth Teller* of last Saturday repeats with obstinacy the assertion and the falsehood.

“I did acknowledge the authorship of these letters in the *Protestant*, signed ‘Cranmer,’ which attracted so much notice and elicited so much praise. In making the acknowledgment I knew what letters were (and the *Protestant* knew what letters were not) comprehended in my reference. Fergus MacAlpin knew neither and his ignorance would have justified his silence but it can be no excuse for his bold and repeated assertion of what is untrue. He copies the passage, however, points it out for public reprobation, declares it was written by a Catholic of Philadelphia, and then begins to ask questions and ask them as he tells us ‘seriously and sadly.’ The editor of the *Protestant* knew that I never wrote the passage in question nor the letter from which it was taken, and he was very safe in tempting me with the following challenge in the *Protestant* of July 24th, page 298: ‘We dare the Arch-deceiver who claims to be our correspondent, in his own name publicly to own, that he is the author of that letter over which Fergus so pathetically whines. A Catholic with all his effrontery will not thus entrap himself.’

“Thus the *Protestant* dared me to acknowledge it and I not only declined but I extracted the passage and had it published in the *Truth Teller* two weeks ago together with my positive declaration that it formed no part of my letters to the *Protestant*, the first of which was published on the 27th of February. After all this MacAlpin says in the *Truth Teller* of last Saturday in his usual dogmatic and unmannerly strain: ‘It did not emanate from the Sheet Anchor Brotherhood; you are its parent.’ I am neither its parent nor author.

“Thus I am necessarily placed before the public at issue with Fergus MacAlpin. There must have been a departure from the truth on one side or the other. Here then in self-defense I must again have recourse to that tangible kind of reasoning which even the unprincipled editor of the *Protestant* could not abide. The argument I now make use of is, perhaps, the only one to which neither MacAlpin nor the public will be insensible. It is simply an appeal to the purse; and I predict that its operation will be like that of an arrow aimed at the heel of Achilles. I challenge him to meet me with a bet of one thousand dollars (no matter where I get it for the occasion) that the falsehood is on his side and not on mine, the forfeit to be given to the orphans in Prince Street. He is a man of great liberality and if he proves himself as correct in his statement as he has been bold, obstinate, and unqualified in making it, he will have saved his reputation and effected an object dear to the philanthropist. Even if this

should be at his own expense he will soon make up his loss (if loss it can be called in such a cause) being, as I am told, proverbial in his habits of domestic economy. But if he shrinks from this proposition, and yet refuses to make an apology, then shall I leave him to abide the sentence which the moral feeling of an impartial public will pronounce on him."

This spirited reply on the part of Father Hughes to the bitter and senseless tirades of MacAlpin broke the back of the controversy. Father Levins wanted to have the satisfaction of a drawn battle and continued his assaults on Cranmer. But at this juncture a weary spectator signing himself "Catholicus Ipse" entreated the two assailants to cease their war of words and to make peace. "Never again," he concluded, "let the pens of Fergus MacAlpin and Catholicus be dipped in the gall of bitterness."

Another intellectual bout of an entirely different nature occurred about the same time between the editors of the *Truth Teller* and the *Irish Shield*, a bombastic newspaper edited by George Pepper. This hot-headed charlatan had not been long in New York when he tried to make himself hail-fellow-well-met with the exiled United Irishmen there; but failing in this and feeling sore in his disappointment he endeavored to belittle the services and the sacrifices of these patriots. The *Truth Teller*, on the other hand, had among its contributors and patrons Dr. MacNeven, a man of great prestige among the Irish Catholics in New York. It grieved the mountebank very much to see such influential Irishmen giving their patronage and their talents to the support of a paper conducted by two Englishmen. In fact, the history of the *Irish Shield* reveals that from the very moment of its existence it intended to declare war on "a faction who from interested motives enlisted themselves under the standard of a despicable pair of English hypocrites, and ignobly sacrificed Irish feeling and Irish sympathy at the shrine of venality."¹⁰ This testy scribe hoped to divert the patronage of the *Truth Teller* merely to satisfy his self-interest. In fact he boasted that he had already made profit out of his enmity.

In this clashing of interest the firmament was soon to be rent by a storm of invective like to the continuous crash of an artillery engagement in battle. At a meeting of the Catholic Association of New York, Pepper seized the opportunity to declare war also on the United Irishmen. The discussion was centered about the appropriation of funds of the society towards the erection of a suitable monument to

¹⁰ *The Irish Shield and Monthly Milesian*, Vol. I. 1829.

the memory of the late Thomas Addis Emmett. In the course of his remarks Pepper lauded O'Connell and very unjustly reflected on Emmett's bosom friend and compatriot. In this warm debate, in which many took part, the editor of the *Shield* was worsted. To tease and torment him still more the editor of the *Truth Teller* doubted the originality of a history of Ireland which Pepper was publishing in the *Irish Shield*. Mr. Denman ironically insinuated that perhaps MacNeven had given Pepper some aid. This so infuriated the editor of the *Irish Shield* that he expressed his feelings in the following caustic remarks:¹¹

“ . . . Did you, Dr. MacNeven, we respectfully but fearlessly ask the question, ever dictate, correct or suggest a single sentence of our ‘*History of Ireland?*’ Did you ever assist us in the composition of a solitary article in the *Irish Shield*? Did you at any time favor us with the loan of any work on the history, biography, or antiquities of Ireland since the first number of this periodical was published? We put these interrogatories to this respected gentleman in order that his candid and unqualified negative answer may stamp the lie on the base and groundless insinuations of that literary impostor, the Yorkshire sergeant, who holds the felonious scissors of the dying thing of trash called the *Truth Teller*, and silence the echo with which some of the grogstore compeers of this caitiff hypocrite have propagated them. Now we are ‘armed so strong in honesty’ and so confident of the entire originality of our history, that we defy any man who reads it to point out a single furtive sentence in the whole contexture of fifteen chapters. Let them, if they can, convict us of plagiarism. We want no stolen plumes in our cap—we disdain to dupe the credulity of our countrymen by arrant hypocrisy, for we feel we have talents that require no props from a disowned American hireling like that spiritless creature who is the jackal of the illiterate English scissors holder of the Lie-Teller whose Midas ears this background scribe ignobly conceals in a garland of nettles and hemlock from the sight of the public.

“But the ignorant and deceptive *Truth Teller* has run its race of duplicity and dullness; it can no longer gall Irishmen—for it totters on the verge of the grave in which it will fall, with the concurrence of every Irishman who prizes sincerity and genius and who hated the double dealing of vulgar Englishmen who have no talent to make it effective or useful. What! are we to suffer the bulls and blunders of a Yorkshire *shrimp* who was taught to spell by telegraph and write on sand by Joseph Lancaster, to be fastened on the literary reputa-

¹¹ *Irish Shield and Monthly Milesian*, Vol. I. 1829.

tions of our country? No, forbid it patriotism, forbid it justice, forbid it national sympathy! There is not a ray of Irish mind dawning on the wretched editorial trash of the dark and insipid *Truth Teller*.

“Let no one say that which is not true, that we now come forward when the few days of the *Truth Teller's* inglorious existence are numbered, when the doom of the despicable ‘thing,’ to use a favorite phrase of Cobbett, is decided, to push it into the grave. Our readers will recollect that we have uniformly denounced the effrontery and impudence of ‘a pair of Yorkshire adventurers’ who, without the least share of education or talent, succeeded, by the imposition of barefaced plagiarism and the vulgar scribbling of the background Yankee, in palming their wretched ‘thing’ or ‘shreds and patches’ on our countrymen as an Irish paper, and in this, hoodwinking their good-natured credulity. It was no motive of envy—envy indeed! Would an uneducated English peasant like the mock editor be worth even the contempt of our envy? No; our aim in decrying and derogating the miserable and illegitimate bantling of hypocrisy was to cleanse and expurgate the literary character of our country, which was so unjustly contaminated by being coupled with a worthless paper like the *Truth Teller*, in whose ignorant columns there was for the last two years no Irish pen.

“If a literary Irishman had any control over its editorial management, would he insult Irish feeling as the Sergeant has done by insertion of police reports of the most prejudiced London papers—distorted reports which exhibited some of our countrymen, and women, too, in the most grotesque caricatures of exaggerated burlesque? Witness ‘Biddy Murphy’s red petticoat’ and ‘Emancipation Courtship,’ which appeared in the nicknamed *Truth Teller* some time ago. This might be sport to the addle-pated scissors-holder and to his half-lettered underling, but it was a gross and irritating insult to the sensibilities of Irishmen, and we know that some hundred of them have indignantly resented it, as they ought. We rejoice that we have at last opened the eyes of our countrymen to the duplicity by which they have been hoaxed—that we have boldly and fearlessly torn off the mask from the ugly visage of Saxon hypocrisy. ‘Why, Pepper!’ exclaimed some of our Yankeeified countrymen who value American pelf more than Irish patriotism, ‘why are you continually cutting up the *Truth Teller*? They never attack you!’ ‘Why?’ replied we. ‘Because arrant imposition deserves exposure. Attack us, for sooth!—verily, they were not able!’ Who, gentlemen, could the scissors-holder of the *Truth Teller* procure in this city that has the courage or ability to enter the lists of controversy with us? Would Mr. Sampson, would

Dr. MacNeven, enroll themselves on the recruit list of the English Shrimp? Oh, no; Irish pride and Irish genius spurn this degrading supposition. Then let it be known that the boasted forbearance of the Sergeant was but the pusillanimous forbearance of the fox in the presence of the lion. He could procure no one that was fool-hardy enough to encounter us. Ah! well the cunning Saxon knew that if any of his friends, either a mock-doctor or a soi-disant alderman, came in contact with us, that we would have made him sacred to ridicule during his natural life and impressed on his front, with a pen of fire, the figure of an ass as a suitable emblematic symbol of an unletter-mind.

“We do not wish that the free and candid language in which we have spoken in the beginning of this article of Dr. MacNeven should be construed out of its proper meaning, which is far, we solemnly aver, from any servile desire of propitiating his friendship by any unbecoming condescension, and as remote as the poles from the intention of retracting a single syllable of the opinions which we glory in having expressed of the relative comparative merits of our great and illustrious countryman, O’Connell, the very living personification of Ireland and the Rara Avis of questionable patriotism, the late Thomas Addis Emmet, the repudiator of the land of his birth.

“On this subject we would be proud to have a public discussion with the Doctor, to grapple with him on its merits, as we assure him that, however superior he might be to us on other grounds, in this fair light his classic thunder will lose its lightning and his logical pen its Gorgon terrors. The interest we take in O’Connell’s fame would arm us with new powers. As a scholar conversant with poetry and eloquence of Greece and Rome, and as a physician, chemist and physiologist, Dr. MacNeven is acknowledged by the concurrent voice of Europe and America to stand in the first rank of eminent distinction. But as an English writer of the present day his style, which Longinus would call cold and critically correct, is a little sullied and dimmed with the antiquated dust of the old school. He does not combine in composition the logic of Locke with the magnificence of Dr. Johnson. The elegant graces of poetic eloquence never adorn his diction with the luxuriant flowers of imagination. The chain of his arguments is strong and massy, but it is a chain of rusty iron. We admire the base and shafts of the Doric columns of his syllogisms, but when we raise our eyes to the entablature we feel disappointed at the dearth of ornament, and the total destitution of sculptural embellishment.

“Before we conclude this article we think it proper to state the origin of the coolness now subsisting between the amiable gentleman

and us is to be dated from the first night of the meeting of the Catholic Association in this city, when he, with the assistance of his partisans, rejected a resolution of thanks to Daniel O'Connell which we offered on that occasion. This, with the appropriate censure which we then passed on the reprehensible and iniquitous vote to the Emmett monument, is the head and front of our offending."

Swift on the wings of impassioned thought the editor of the *Truth Teller* swept to his revenge. The coup-de-grace was soon to follow. He decided to curb for all time the arrogance of his adversary who had persistently attempted to fleeh from him his fair name. He immediately began a suit for libel against Mr. Caleb Barlett, the proprietor of the *Irish Shield*. The defendant realized that the editor of his paper had involved him in difficulties from which he could not easily escape. The case was so obvious that Barlett pleaded guilty and did not attempt to verify any of the charges contained in the libel. He asked the mercy of the court on the grounds that he himself was not the writer and did not know of the publication until his attention was called to it. He also stated that the *Truth Teller* had in some measure provoked the assault, by republishing an article originally appearing in the *St. Louis Beacon*, which censured in severest terms the *Irish Shield* for its frequent and gross attack on the character of Thomas Addis Emmett, Dr. MacNeven and other distinguished men of '98. The case was conducted on the plaintiff's side by Charles O'Connor, who succeeded in obtaining for his client a verdict of four hundred dollars and the costs of the suit.¹² The victory for the *Truth Teller* was complete. Pepper afterwards admitted that he "was forced from New York City by his enemies, who claimed to be advocates of Irishmen yet robbed the support from one on whom a large family depended." He even complained that they persecuted him after he moved to Philadelphia, but it must be added that he too continued to molest the editor of the *Truth Teller* with his favorite epithets "Shrimp," "Sergeant," and "Scissors-holder."

Much of the antagonism between Denman and Pepper can be traced to their opposite views in politics. The *Truth Teller* in 1832 informs us that an "Irish bolt" was being formed by the scheming "Federalists." It seems that the bank party had approached Denman in hope of purchasing his influence with the Irish voter, but it failed utterly. They were more successful with the editor of the *Irish Shield*. This sycophant once more took up his pen to belittle the "English Sergeant." The following curious editorial reply in the *Truth Teller*

¹² *Truth Teller*, Vol. V. 1830.

sums up the political situation as it affected Irishmen and portrays the personal attitude of the two warring editors:

“The *pretended* friends but the *real* enemies of the Irish patriots, those who would link MaeNeven to the ear of a Clay, Sampson to that of a Grainger, and the son of an Emmett to that of the party which through its accredited agent in London protested against the grant of permission to Irish republicans to emigrate to the United States, in consequence of which protest the virtuous and talented Thomas Addis Emmett was doomed to spend more than four years of his valuable life in the cold and dreary fortress of Fort George—those pretended friends but real enemies of the Irish patriots attack us with violence, malignity and falsehood for no other worldly cause than that we are and acknowledged ourselves to be the *real* friends of the Irish people. We are called an Englishman—what a crime! a sergeant—what a disgrace! and are charged with the crime of drilling the Irish. And what of all this? What has our place of birth or our profession to do with the question? We are indeed of English birth and so was a Chatham; we were not and we are not a sergeant; and had we been such we would not disown it, for we know no disgrace attached to the office; and must doubt the republicanism of the editor who would stigmatize us as such. We are charged with the high crime of drilling the Irish. We are laboring to *prevent* their being drilled. Who, let it be asked, drilled the Irish or, rather, endeavors to drill the Irish at Philadelphia? The drillers at Philadelphia may rest assured that their efforts will prove a downright failure; the *federal sergeants* after all their boasts will find themselves without recruits on the day of battle. Irishmen will not be drilled—they will not desert their principles—they will not be set apart for the purposes of a faction—they will vote for liberty and for America. On the day of election they will vote with Americans, with the Democratic Americans—and for the Man of the People.”

Once in the political arena, the *Truth Teller* found it hard to withdraw and, taken up with party cares, it neglected its mission as the champion of Catholic interests. The paper soon became tainted with trusteeism, which alienated the clerical support that the journal had until that time enjoyed. Catholic newspapers conducted with greater conservatism and respectability became its rivals for patronage, and before this competition its prestige dwindled almost to nothing. In 1855 Denman, wishing to retire, offered to sell the paper for five hundred dollars, but prospective purchasers thought to effect a compromise by offering the editor five dollars a week for life. Little did they think that “Major” Denman was destined to outlive all his day and

generation. He died an octogenarian on September 12, 1870. The compromise payments of fifteen years amounted to four thousand and thirty dollars. The *Truth Teller* closed its long and eventful career in 1859 after an existence of almost a quarter of a century.

Austin, Texas

PAUL J. FOIK, C. S. C.

ON THE STUDY OF PLACE-NAMES

“If words,” as Dryden assures us, “are but pictures of our thoughts,” then the names of places, mountains, valleys, rivers, cities, villages and streets, are the pictures of the historic past. Memories cling to them, which, though they may have no place in the chronicles of time, often fill their lovers with high enthusiasm. “They have a separate effect in the mind, abstracted from their signification and their imitative power,” as Henry Hume assures us. The original meaning of the name may be lost or blurred through the vicissitudes of the ages, but a majesty, a brightness, a dewy freshness attaches to the very sound of the word, enchanting the heart beyond sight and touch. Wordsworth’s “Yarrow Unvisited” expresses this fact very touchingly:

“The treasured dreams of times long past
We’ll keep them, winsome Marrow!
Enough if in our hearts we know
There’s such a place as Yarrow.”

The old religious lady was perhaps not so very far from good sense, when she said that nothing of all the new preacher said thrilled her like the sound of that blessed word—Mesopotamia.

What images of homely joy and grace does not the mere sound of the name Killarney or Lucerne or Edinburg or Siena or a thousand other cities or places evoke, names that, once heard, can never be forgotten: Killarney, where the English poet, Spenser, found his inspiration for the “Faerie Queen”; Lucerne, the ancient luminary of civilization at the head of the Lake of the Four Cantons; Edinburg, with its castled crag; and then, the “gracious city, well-beloved, Italian, and a maiden crowned-Siena”?

What splendid visions of more than twenty centuries of history’s pageant does not the name of Rome, Roma Aeterna bring to the memory? Who does not feel his heart throb at the very sound of the words Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Nazareth, the Lebanon, the Jordan, the Lake of Genesareth? What sweet and sacred memories do not arise in the Christian soul at the very mention of these hallowed names! And Florence, Firenze, the wonderful city of Dante and Michael Angelo; Venice, Venetia, the marble city in the sea; Naples, la bella Napoli on the blue Vesuvian Bay; Sorrento, “The Flower of the Wave,” and Capri, the island of the Blue Grotto, and Innsbruck,

amid the Tyrolese Alps; and Milton's Val D'Arno and Vallombrosa; and Bingen on the Rhine; all, all and many more, are they not sweet upon the tongue, and musical with memories, perhaps never expressed in language?

And the romance that clings to ruins, "those legendary tablets of the past," as Walter Scott designates them, is it not crystallized in the name each crumbling wall and tower bears? Nameless, they would speak no more; under a new name, their life and charm would vanish; bearing their ancient names, they are deathless; Melrose, the abbey-ruin, immortalized by Walter Scott; Heisterbach on the Rhine, where the song of a nightingale taught the dreamy monk that with God a thousand years were as a day; Glastonbury, with its memories of the Holy Grail.

Indeed, there is a secret charm, a mystical power, connected with the names of places. They seem to have grown out of the very soil and to bloom like living plants. We cannot tell who first used them: they are no one's property. They may change in the course of time, but not at the dictate of the mighty ones of earth; nor will they suffer a change in their essential factor, the root: Colonia may change to Cologne, Augusta to Augsburg, but the name is essentially the same it was a thousand years ago.

A mighty Emperor chose a city on the Propontis as the seat of his power, a little city, almost unknown at the time. He enlarged it with magnificent buildings and gave it his own name. But the ancient name of the city was not obliterated by the new splendors: Byzantium is not forgotten beside the prouder name Constantinople. Byzantine, not Constantinopolitan, is still the designation of what is characteristic of the City on the Bosphorus.

Sane and strong people respect the existing names of places and things. For more than two thousand years the German people have held possession of the Valleys of the Rhine, the Isar, the western reaches of the Danube; but during all those centuries most of the ancient Celtic names of the rivers and mountain streams, of the crags and peaks, as well as of many distinctive sites, continue to the present day, often in a slightly altered form, but plainly distinguishable in their structure. To them, the name seemed one with the object itself.

The study of place-names is making headway in all civilized countries. It requires but a fair knowledge of the languages that were at any time spoken in the locality to be studied. But this is the open sésame to many a secret of the early history of a country, a charm to make the past live again, as for an instance, in the case of Eng-

land, the study of place-names has shown the survival of Britons after the Anglian invasion; the Mercian origin of the people south of the Ribble, while their neighbors to the north of the river came from Northumbria; and the extent of the Scandinavian settlement in North Lancashire and, apparently, in the Mersey valley southwest of Manchester. This, though somewhat speculative, illustrates the value of the systematic study of place-names over a large area, says the *London Spectator*.

Many a time the forgotten ruin of an ancient castle or city of historic celebrity was finally discovered by explorers, who had no other clue than the popular name still clinging to some out of the way locality. It was through the ancient name of the little river bounding St. Louis on the south, the Riviere des Peres, that Father Kenny was led on to the discovery of the earliest white settlement in the Mississippi valley. Local names are, indeed, very tenacious of life, and, we may add, true to historic fact.

Now, as we have turned to our own country, the very name, America, has become dear to us all, and to the world. We may think, at times, that the name of our Continent, as well as of the leading nation of the western world, should, in justice to Christopher Columbus, be Columbia and Columbians, yet the change could never be effected without disarranging the history of four hundred years. Altogether senseless is the recently suggested change of Americans to Unistasians, a change that would eliminate the great memories of the past, as well as the prophetic vision of a still greater future.

It is certainly regrettable, from a Christian point of view, that the names proposed for the Mississippi river by the discoverers, the "River of the Holy Ghost," by the Spaniards, or the "River of the Immaculate Conception," by the French, did not take firm hold; yet, as these names had to make way for the ancient Indian designation Mississippi, The Father of Waters, we cannot complain; this being but another illustration of the tenacious hold a name once become popular, has on the imagination of men. In fact, we are opposed in principle to the renaming of places. Old historical names are concentrated history. To change the name of the Russian capital, St. Petersburg, to Petrograd, as perpetrated in the hysterical days of the world war, was a barbarism; so was the change of many of the German names of our cities and villages and streets; so was the renaming of Italian and French avenues of long and pleasant use and historic memories, in favor of warriors and statesmen of the hour. We are glad to notice that good sense is getting the upper hand once more and resists the iconoclastic hand that would change

any name of city, village or street, as given by the founders, into "one more in harmony with the spirit of our country and the twentieth century," as the saying used to be.

"Wherever possible," says the Cincinnati *Times-Star*, "street names should carry history and exude local color; "they can be better monuments to notable events, than bronze tablets set into buildings. Why attempt to standardize and, at the same time to cheapen American town life by sowing the land with such names of metropolitan import as Coney Island, Fifth avenue and Broadway? Why serve the passing stranger with the canned vegetables and condensed milk of language, when what he wants is something with the freshness of local idiom?" Mr. Collier's remark is to the point:

"We can find a comfort in such forthright and vivid names as we have already: Deadwood, Sleepy Eve, Minn (translated from the Sioux), Little Big Horn, Council Bluffs, Medicine Hat, Medicine Lodge, Moose Jaw, Wagon Wheel Gap, Hardscrabble, and many more."

We have in our own Missouri and its neighboring states many place-names that remind us of the Red Man, who once possessed the land as his hunting ground, such as Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Peoria, Kansas City, Chicago. Many of our rivers still bear the old Indian names as the Missouri, the Illinois, the Arkansas, the Iowa, the Kansas, names that have communicated themselves to the states they water. Lake Michigan and Lake Huron immortalize distinguished Indian tribes. Then we have a great number of place-names reminiscent of the early French and Spanish colonists, symbolic of their Catholic faith, as St. Louis, Ste. Genevieve, St. Charles, St. Ferdinand, Carondelet, or memorable for their enterprise and sturdy manhood, as Westport, Council Bluffs and the French names of many of the mining towns of Missouri; also such Anglo-Saxon names of cities in the neighborhood of St. Louis, as Chesterfield, Manchester, Sappington, Old Orchard and Kirkwood.

Lastly we would mention the place and street names given by the home-loving and sometimes homesick German settlers of our western prairies and forests. The memories of their old homes beyond the sea had come with them, and so they designated the places that were to be to them as a new home, with the dear name of the old. New Hamburg, New Bremen, as places of departure from Germany, were often remembered by these wayworn pioneers; Neu Offenburg, Neu Baden, Neu Basel, Neu Braunfels, Neu Baiern, Neu Berlin, Neu Bern, Neu Koeln, Neu Frankfort, Neu Glarus, Neu Glatz, Neu Hannover, Neu Holstein, Neu Martinsburg, Neu Mecklenburg, Neu Munchen, Neu Pfalz, are but a few of the many German place-names on

American soil. Two of the more recent ones are Frankenstein, named in memory of one of the great leaders of the German Centre in the Kulturkampf; and Starckenburg, the 19th century place of pilgrimage in Missouri, named after a grand castle-ruin in the old principality of Hesse. These and many hundreds of other place-names of German origin would tell future generations something of the love of their forefathers for the old home, and even more of the sturdy American character of these immigrants, as evolved in the course of time, from their love of freedom and fidelity to duty.

We are glad that Missouri has but little of the wild nomenclature that, in a manner, disfigures the rocks, rivers, canyons, peaks, and hot springs of the farther west.

As Mr. Collier said in his "Echoes of the Streets": "The threadbare monotony of the Devil's Punchbowl, the Devil's Chair, the Devil's Cauldron betray, at least an indisposition toward a painstaking search for something better."

It would have been better if the old picturesque Indian names had been retained; but to restore them, or to substitute good Anglo-Saxon names, might be difficult or even impossible. As they stand, they give testimony of the wild imagination of the often lawless advance guard of civilization in the Rocky Mountain region; every one of them has a legend growing round about itself, a flower of evil, we may think, yet after all, a flower.

Place-names, as we have seen, are calculated to reveal much history; they also promote the love of history, and evoke the historical sense in our race; attachment to one's native place may be enhanced by the fact of its bearing a beautiful, romantic or otherwise interesting name. And this is what we need. "The American," said Lowell about fifty years ago, "the American is nomadic in Religion, in ideas, in morals, and leaves his faith and opinion with as much indifference, as the house in which he was born." Anything that will tend to cultivate a deeper attachment to home, will also help to change his other deleterious characteristics. The reverential study of the names of places, rivers, mountains, cities, villages and even streets, though but a side issue of the study of history, certainly has an importance and attractiveness all its own. America will not always be a new country. A hundred years from now many of the things we are liable to regard as commonplace, will form the treasure-troves of the cultured men and women of that day. And they, the children of the twenty-first century, will bless the memory of those of our time who preserved and elucidated the flotsam and jetsam of the history of their ancestors, the names they have given to the places they loved.

TWO PIONEER INDIANA PRIESTS

[Some years ago the late eminent scholar, Monsignor Holweck, of St. Louis, contributed to the *Pastoral-Blatt* of that city a series of biographical sketches of pioneer German missionary-priests in the United States. Two of the sketches are here reproduced, the translation from the original German being done by the Reverend Francis Scheper, of Sullivan, Indiana.]

I—REVEREND JOSEPH KUNDECK, V. G.

In December, 1919, I received an interesting account concerning Father Kundek from Father Bede Maler, O. S. B., of St. Joseph's Abbey in Louisiana. The account is embodied in this biographical sketch. Moreover, Monsignor Rainer, former rector of the Salesianum, St. Francis, Wis., was kind enough to have Father Kundek's letters copied so that they could be published in this periodical. Father Kundek was not a German but a Croatian; however, due to his training, he worked among the Germans and thus deserves to be counted among the German missionaries. Father Bede writes as follows:

A painful, sleepless night reminds me of my promise to write to you some of my impressions of good Father Kundek, the first pastor of Jasper. This article is based mainly on the interesting stories of the former rector of St. Meinrad Seminary, Father Isidore Hobi, O. S. B.; I only regret that I cannot put down these talks in his inimitable manner. I can still see him sitting there, his glasses pushed above his bushy eyebrows, and pressing the index finger of the right hand into the left palm to lend stress to his words. In 1885 I had completed a history of the early missions and of the beginnings of St. Meinrad Abbey. Alas, in 1887, this manuscript, together with all the documents, went up in flames. Since then fragments of the early history of the missions in Spencer, Dubois and Perry counties have been published at various times; however, a critical history of the same is impossible now, since the old documents, the notebooks of the first Benedictines, Chrysostom, Foffa, Bede O'Connor, Ulrich Christen and others fell a prey to the flames.

Joseph Kundek was born at Ivanic, twenty-six miles from Agram, Croatia, on August 24, 1810. He made most of his studies in Vienna, completing them in Agram, where he was also ordained. While chaplain at Agram, or on a visit to Vienna, he chanced upon a copy of the *Annals of the Leopoldine Association*. After reading it with great interest he said to his companion, "I can do the same as these missionaries," and immediately sought out his Ordinary for permission to go to America.

Father Kundeck is first mentioned in these Annals in a letter by Bishop Bruté written to the Archbishop of Vienna and dated October 10, 1837: "With great anticipations I look forward to the arrival of Father Joseph Kundeck, whose coming you announced to me. It would be a sad blow to me to learn that he has changed his mind, for above all I am in need of a priest who is conversant with the German. P. S.—According to a letter just received, dated September 15, 1838, Father Kundeck arrived in Vincennes after a trip of five months' duration."

After his arrival, and due mainly to the advice of Father de St. Palais, he was sent to Jasper, in Dubois county. Since 1834 some Germans had settled there, who were visited occasionally by Father de St. Palais from St. Mary's, Daviess county. A log house that stood on the bank of the Patoka River served as church. At Father Kundeck's arrival the parish totaled 39 families. The early story of his labors there is found in the letters written by him to the Archbishop of Vienna, the head of the Leopoldine Association. These letters give us a fine idea of this good and zealous priest. Some of them are included in this article. Besides these letters we shall give the reminiscences of Father Bede, together with what we could find in Alerding's *History of the Catholic Church in Vincennes*. The first letter is dated July 17, 1839:

With a sad heart I must inform you that God called our good Bishop to Himself on the 26th of June, a little after midnight, and has bestowed upon him the crown of an apostle. . . . I am the proud possessor of several letters written by him, letters that never fail to console me in my arduous work as missionary. Since he asked me to write a detailed account of my activities here to your Grace, I now hasten to do so. As soon as I could get away from my home station at Jasper, I decided to pay a visit to various other points. First I went to Vincennes to consult with my Bishop regarding this matter. Here I had occasion to preach in German, to give instruction to the German Catholics, and to hear their confessions. General Harrison had given these Germans, some sixty all told, a plot of ground free of cost; however, as they have no German priest to take care of them, the Bishop could not as yet agree to carry out the project.

From Vincennes I journeyed over wide prairies towards Lake Michigan in the state of Illinois and also visited Picquet's Settlement. These prairies are immense, level tracts of land, without hills or valleys or streams; all you see is the heaven and the sea of waving grass. In winter, if one is caught upon such an immense prairie, there is danger of being frozen to death. Many travelers have thus been lost. In summer, if the dry grass happens to catch fire, the scene is remarkable at night, something like the Aurora borealis. I have witnessed it several times.

This settlement of Mr. Picquet in Jasper county, north of these prairies, contains some 18,000 acres of land. This good man, who hails from Strassburg, Alsace, has in mind to turn it gradually over to worthy Catholic emigrants from

his country of Alsace. He has also erected a priest's house and a church, which is completely furnished. The Redemptorist Fathers are thinking of founding a house there so that they can take charge of the local parish and of the surrounding country. As this settlement stretches out for nine to twelve miles on all sides, there is plenty of room for the spreading of the word of God.

From there I went by way of Princeton to Evansville some sixty miles away. Upon arriving there I learned to my sorrow that I would not be able to say Mass, since the pastor, Father Deydier, a truly apostolic man, had taken the missal and the church vestments with him, as he was gone on a collecting tour for the building of a church. However, since there are more than thirty German families here or in the immediate vicinity of the town, I could not refrain from conducting services for them, and as there were English speaking Catholics there too, I spoke in both English and German. I closed the services with the Litany of the Blessed Virgin and other prayers. Several had gone to confession but they could not receive Holy Communion, as there were no particles. Still these services, conducted in the room in which this good priest lives, and where he dines on a poor diet, consisting mainly of potatoes, proved to be of a consoling nature to the assembled faithful. The Germans here have been anxiously awaiting a German priest for years.

After my return to Jasper I stayed a little while in Bornville, where I debated for over two hours with a Baptist preacher in the presence of his wife and children. Although I did not convince him, still I hope that I have made him and his family better friends of the Catholic Church. At least, the respect he paid me and the kindness he showered upon me, led me to think that he has changed his views somewhat. I certainly was glad to be among my flock again to act as priest, teacher and interpreter, after having been 250 miles away from them.

Again, upon the command of the Bishop, I traveled along the Ohio River, some thirty miles away, down to New Albany; there I preached in French to the local congregation on the third Sunday after Easter. There are more than a hundred Catholic families in this growing city. Nearby, some five miles away, lives the French missionary, Father Neyron, whose church in New Albany is not as yet completed. The Bishop bought the ground for 1,200 guilders and has also seen to the interior furnishings of the same. The donations of the Leopoldine Association are largely used by our Bishop for such laudable purposes and you can rest assured that he uses the monies sent him to the best possible purpose.

Somewhat nearer to the Ohio River I found a settlement of English farmers. It was a great pleasure for me to preach to them and to hear their confessions. Here, too, I had an experience which brings tears to my eyes as often as I think about it. After preaching for one hour, saying Mass and hearing confessions, I was called to attend an old man who had joined the Catholic faith ten years before, but who had gone back to Protestantism. In the presence of the doctor, of the old man's wife and children, I instructed him in the main truths of our religion, and had the satisfaction of getting him to make his peace with God again. At the same time my talk helped greatly to convince the rest of the hearers of the truth of our holy religion. At Corydon I baptized a young lady, twenty-one years of age, who openly stated that she had never joined any of the sects because she was convinced of the insincerity and untruthfulness of the preachers. "I have to join the Catholic religion because it is ever the same," she said to her father-in-law, "and that is why I desire to be taken into the true fold of Christ."

Hardly had I returned to Jasper when I was sent to visit the workers who are engaged in digging the canal that is to connect the Ohio with Lake Michigan, a distance equivalent to that between Vienna and Munich. Upon arriving there I found many Protestant preachers present. As they used to attend my sermons, I made it a point to dwell often on those subjects in which they differ from the Catholic teachings. My purpose was twofold, for not only did I seek to strengthen the faith of the Catholics, but at the same time I sought to convince the non-Catholics of the truth of Catholicity. On the 4th of May I spoke to a mixed gathering on the bank of the White River. We were grouped together under a mighty tree; perhaps on this same spot the Indians formerly offered up sacrifice to their gods. I feel that I have done my best in thus combating error and deceit.

It was a heavenly joy for me to go about on these missionary trips, stopping wherever a few Catholics could be found, and to preach to them, hear their confessions, and offer up the Holy Sacrifice in their little log chapels. I also had made especial efforts to instruct our little folks here in Jasper so that they might worthily receive the Sacrament of Confirmation at the hands of Bishop Bruté. Alas, Divine Providence decided otherwise, and now another Bishop must be sent to bring to them the gifts of the Holy Ghost.

Your devoted servant,

JOSEPH KUNDECK.

According to a letter dated December 10, 1839, Jasper then totaled 90 families, mostly Germans. On December 12, 1839, Father Kundeck journeyed to Corydon, which he had visited in the preceding fall and where, in the meantime, the faithful had erected a log chapel. In the summer of 1840 he founded a new colony, which he named Ferdinand, in honor of the then reigning king of Austria. There he erected a little chapel, which he dedicated on Palm Sunday, 1842. Three years later Bishop de la Hailandiere, in the presence of twelve priests, laid the cornerstone of a new church in Ferdinand.

Owing to his great labors, Kundeck broke down in health in the spring of 1841. He was confined to bed for nine weeks, without help from any doctor. As soon as he was able to stand on his feet, the zealous priest started out on a seven hundred mile trip, during which, in a space of five weeks, he preached thirty sermons and heard eight hundred confessions. On May 27, 1838, he had begun preparations for the erection of a substantial brick church at Jasper, the cornerstone of which was laid by Bishop de la Hailandiere on September 8, 1840. On December 8, 1841, the church was dedicated amid impressive ceremonies. The day after the cornerstone laying Kundeck organized a sodality of the Blessed Virgin numbering 70 persons. On February 14, 1841, he made a trip to Pittsburgh, and all along the way through Ohio he attended to the religious needs of the scattered Catholic colonists.

In a letter dated July 27, 1842, the Father mentions that Ferdinand had forty families; however, that did not mean much in those days as the people were too poor to do much towards keeping up a church. At times this great poverty smote his heart and also thoughts of his beloved fatherland surged in upon him for, after all, true piety does not destroy human nature. Still, on July 27, 1842, he wrote that he wept tears of joy over his sad lot. In 1841 he built a little convent for the Sisters of Providence. The year before six Sisters had come over from France, settling at Terre Haute, Indiana. The Providence Sisters are still in charge of the Jasper School. On July 25, 1843, he writes to the Archbishop of Vienna that he had been sick seven months, suffering greatly from pains of colic. Upon his recovery he conducted a retreat in Jasper, aided by Father G. Meinkmann, during which the two heard 150 general confessions. After that he went on another mission trip. Thirty miles from Jasper he built a chapel dedicated to St. John the Baptist, while seven miles farther on from this place he built another, named St. Augustine. He also helped dedicate St. Michael's Church in Louisville, Indiana. Father Miller was pastor there, the parish numbering 53 families.

The following letter, written from New Orleans, is dated February 15, 1844:

Some months have past since I wrote last. The great exertions I had undergone had weakened me greatly, in fact had made an invalid of me, and upon the advice of others I was induced to seek a warmer climate. So I decided to come to New Orleans, although I have met with many sorrows here too which reacted unfavorably upon my health. Imagine my surprise on finding the Germans in this city in a most sad condition. I immediately began taking steps to ameliorate it. The faithful, too, regarded my coming as an auspicious sign from God and showed great willingness to help me start a church for them. This is the state of affairs. The first Germans came to this city around the year 1817. There are now some eight to twelve hundred families, numbering almost 6,000 souls. They have no church or school of their own, not even a German priest. Occasionally they have Mass in a rented hall that contains an altar, and occasionally school is held in an adjoining room for the few that attend. This beginning was made last year by the Missionary Czakert, a Redemptorist of Baltimore, who took pity on this poor flock. However, he left them again at Christmas, as so many others had done before him, after being in their midst but a short time. I have already obtained a site for a church. I am doing all I can to carry out this plan, and I hope with the grace of God to be able to conduct services for the first time on the feast of St. Joseph. I intend to name the church in honor of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. How I long for the realization of this hope, especially as I cannot remain away too long from my flock at Jasper and Ferdinand. Still, I feel that God sent me here to preach to these poor people in their mother tongue and to dispense the sacraments to them after having been denied them so long. I have people here who have not been to confession for

fifteen years, mothers receiving their first Communion with their children who are already sixteen years old; boys, fifteen years of age, asking for instruction in the rudiments of religion, and some eleven years of age who have not even been baptized. Nowhere can one find more mixed marriages entered into before ministers and officials than right here in New Orleans. As to the rearing of the children, a spirit of indifferentism prevails that is positively appalling.

Confession is neglected, attendance at Mass is regarded as unnecessary, children are not baptized, in fact, the Catholic religion is regarded as being but a mere sect. Although the outlook is so dark, I shall not give up, I will preach, work, labor as long as I have breath in me, to revive the dim light of the faith and to separate Catholicism from Protestantism. "I have planted, God give the increase" (1. Cor. 3:7).

Your humble servant,

J. KUNDECK.

The next letter, written from Jasper, is dated September 3, 1844:

Your Grace: Two years have passed by, during which I often had to struggle making ends meet; yet the old proverb holds good also in my case: "God is nearest, where the need is greatest." You can imagine with what joy I received the sum of 400 pounds sterling which my Bishop handed to me, and which came from your Grace. I must thank God above all, the author and giver of all good, who hears the sighs of the weak and needy. I must now give an account of my stewardship in regard to the money received. Seventy-five dollars I returned to my Bishop for other charitable purposes; 800 dollars were used to liquidate debts on the Jasper Church and convent; 400 dollars will be expended in the three missions founded by me; the rest of the sum, \$665.00, I intend to make use of in the building of the new church in Ferdinand.

In my last letter I informed you of the sad condition of the German flock in New Orleans, and it cost me many a pang to leave them. I can say with pride that I built the first German church in New Orleans, for that matter, the first in the state of Louisiana; the building is ninety feet by forty-five; it is twenty-one feet high. The cornerstone was laid by Vicar General Roussilon on January 14, 1843, and after three months the building was so far advanced that it could be blessed by Bishop Anton Blanc under the name of the Assumption. Alas, there is no German priest to continue the good work of preaching to the faithful and to hear their confessions. The Redemptorists would not accept the charge, and with bleeding heart I had to go back to my parish, saddened by the thought of these many people being left without spiritual consolation. And they need a pastor on account of the deadly malaria fever that often rages in this city. Alas, in vain do they look for help and consolation. They write to me, begging me to send them a priest, but how can I, I who need an assistant here? O, if only some of my Austrian brother priests came over here! They could save thousands of souls who are doomed now to be lost in consequence of lack of care. What a reward would be theirs in the life to come!

During my absence it seems that my missions did not suffer any harm. Again asking you for your continued help and prayers, and thanking you again most truly for your numberless favors, I remain,

Your humble servant,

J. KUNDECK.

On June 5, 1844, Father Kundeck visited Fulda for the first time; there he built a small log church which was enlarged in 1852. It

seems, however, that Kundeck came only a few times. Before this, Fathers Fischer, Doyle and Contin had visited the settlement.

Already in the fall of 1845 Bishop de la Hailandiere had petitioned Pope Gregory XVI to accept his resignation. He was present at the consecration of his successor, Father Bazin, of Mobile. . . . "Eight months later," Father Bede narrates, "at the pontifical Mass for Bishop Bazin, held in the Vincennes Cathedral, Father Kundeck sang the Gospel, having been named deacon for the occasion. He sang it with great feeling, at times rather imitating the lamenting of some high, shrill soprano voice. My documents do not inform me as to the effect produced on the assembled clergy."

According to a letter of Father Kundeck dated December 23, 1844, the parishes of Jasper and Ferdinand totaled 300 families. After his return from the Southland he had founded another settlement, named Celestine, where lived some forty-four Catholic families. In his letter of July 23, 1845, to Vienna he records that he had been sent to attend to the missions of Leopold, Freedom, Leavenworth, Amsterdam, Rockport and Louisville, St. Michael's Church. In the early part of June, 1843, the Bishop laid the cornerstone of the Ferdinand Church, and on June 11 he erected a big cross in Jasper amid great religious solemnities.

On October 12, 1845, so Father Kundeck narrates, he had received the relics of St. Felician and exposed them for public veneration in his church on March 19. Father Bede told me the following regarding the transfer of the relics to the church:

"This '*translatio*' was a very interesting ceremony for all concerned. Father Kundeck had kept the body in the church at Celestine and now it was to be brought to Jasper with fitting services. Four Benedictine Fathers, seated in a gorgeously decorated coach, had to conduct the relics from Celestine to Jasper. At the appointed time Father Kundeck stationed himself outside the Jasper Church, surrounded by all the members of his flock. Amid the ringing of bells, the firing of salutes, and the blare of the brass band, the coach arrived before the church. When the Fathers desired to leave the coach the pastor bade them remain seated. Then, while the bells still pealed merrily, he opened the door of the coach, and, clad in alb and pluviale, read out of his ritual the '*Exorcismus super reliquias.*' Only after he had thoroughly sprinkled and incensed the relics could the Fathers leave the coach with their precious burden. The relics were carried now into the church amid great solemnity. I do not know what other ceremonies followed after that."

On the altar of the Blessed Virgin there was also a large picture representing St. Hereulian, or perhaps it was Felician. Even then there must have been an artist in Jasper of rather cubistic or even futuristic tendencies, for the picture was horrible. Later on it gave way to a more artistic picture. On one occasion Bishop Maurice de St. Palais, amid much head shaking, uttered his doubts regarding this remarkable picture. Kundeck quickly returned, "Sure, and the people here say that he resembles you, Bishop."

After the early death of Bishop Bazin, April 23, 1848, the administrator, Father Saint Palais, was consecrated as head of the diocese on January 14, 1849. Two years later, accompanied by Father Kundeck, he made a trip to Rome. On the way east they stopped at Madison, Ind. Here Father Carius, assistant of Father Dupontavice, pastor of St. Michael's, had started to erect a church for the German Catholics. However, trouble broke out and Carius was forced to leave. Impulsive as ever, Kundeck decided to finish the project just as he had done in New Orleans. Father Bilger states: "He stopped over, assisted materially and still more spiritually in organizing the congregation, creating peace and harmony among the discontented and soliciting subscriptions for the new church." He remained in Madison from March, 1851, until April, 1852, after which he set out for Europe. The main object of his visit was to get the Benedictines at Einsiedeln to start an establishment in the diocese of Vincennes. As Bishop St. Palais had appointed him his Vicar General, he could make his plea all the stronger.

Alderding writes: "The immediate cause was a visit by the Very Rev. Joseph Kundeck, Vicar General of Bishop de St. Palais. This worthy priest and zealous missionary so earnestly insisted that great good could be achieved by comparatively small efforts, and so perseveringly pleaded the cause of the Diocese of Vincennes, in its great destitution of priests, that Abbot Henry the Fourth resolved to carry out the idea he had long entertained. When, in accordance with the rules of the Order the question was submitted to the vote of the chapter of the Abbey on the 19th of November, 1852, it met with the approval of all, and several of the Fathers placed themselves at the Abbot's disposal, if he thought proper to send them. On December 21, 1852, Fathers Ulrich Christen and Bede O'Connor took their departure from Einsiedeln and boarded the steamer Hermann at Southampton January 7, 1853, landing safely at New York on January 31."¹

¹ Alderding, *op. cit.*, p. 546.

As new Fathers arrived the Benedictines gradually took over some of Kundeck's missions. On March 13, 1854, Fathers Jerome and Eugene took possession of the land upon which the abbey of St. Meinrad now stands, and on March 21 the feast of St. Benedict, Vicar General Kundeck blessed the log house, the home of the new foundation. A High Mass was celebrated out in the open. (*Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 63.) Of Kundeck's relations with St. Meinrad, Father Bede Maler writes:

"It was mainly Father Kundeck who induced Abbot Henry to send Fathers here to found a new abbey, and he went to Switzerland for that very purpose. So he can be regarded as one of the founders and deserves to be honored as such. When the feast of St. Meinrad was celebrated for the first time in the new monastery, he preached the sermon. In a most realistic manner he retold the story how the saint was murdered and how the villains brought the body before the altar of the church, placing lights around it. By his vivid gestures and word painting he described the whole scene, even to the cawing of the ravens. While it pleased the people very much it must have been difficult for the celebrant to keep a straight face."

Father Bede has informed me about a good many eccentricities of the remarkable man. You cannot judge him according to the cold, calculating manner of a German, for, although reared among Germans, he always remained the sanguine, impulsive Slav. However, he was a man of deep religious faith, untiring in his efforts and possessed of an apostolic spirit, in fact, a man who literally sacrificed himself for others. And now let us cite Father Bede again:

Father Kundeck must have been an extraordinary and original preacher according to all accounts. In the old Jasper Church there was a statue of the Blessed Virgin near the pulpit. The Christ child in her arms could easily be removed. On Christmas day he sang the High Mass and then, before ascending the pulpit, he walked before this statue, where he began to make the following dramatic talk: "Dear Mother! Today is Christmas. This is the day upon which you presented us with the Son of God. You have the Baby in your arms all year; now give it to me." Then taking the infant in his arms he went into the pulpit, and still holding it preached a very touching sermon. After the sermon he returned the infant and said in conclusion: "Thank you so much, Mary, for giving me your Son to hold. Here I give Him back to you." On Christmas day he intoned a special solemn *Ite Missa est in tono solemnissimo*, as follows: "*Ite, praedestinati, praelecti, quibus hodierna die—solus a coelo missa est.*" One Christmas day, when Bishop St. Palais happened to be in Jasper, he remarked to Kundeck that such an *Ite missa est* was not to be found in the Roman Missal. Kundeck positively affirmed that it was sung thus in Rome. This naturally settled the question for good.

Kundeck was also a very efficient catechist and knew how to make the great truths clear and practical. His instruction concerning the power of the sign of the Cross is a classic; I only regret that I cannot give it verbatim. "Yes, children," he would say, "the sign of the cross has remarkable power. But you must make it correctly—not too fast, as if you were chasing away flies. No, you must make it slowly and devoutly, saying at the same time: 'In the name, etc.' You must also carefully sign your forehead, lips and breast with a small cross. That is the way St. Anthony did while living out in the desert. Thus, whenever a lion came along, seeking to devour him, he would make the sign of the cross and the lion would turn tail and amble off. Now the devil is far worse than such a desert lion. The devil did not like St. Anthony and so he sent him a lot of little devils so that they might annoy him a great deal and cause him to get angry. However, the good man kept on making the sign of the cross and as the little devils could not stand for that they also turned tail and fled. At last he had the place all to himself again. Still, the devils were furious and one day they assaulted him by main force; they pulled him back and forth, pommelled him and tore his beard in a most awful manner. Then St. Anthony said: 'You stupid devils, you cannot harm me, and now watch me make the sign of the Cross.' He made it, three times—watch me, children—and then the devils, big and little, ran off as fast as they could. They never returned to plague him after that."

Whenever Father Kundeck went on a sick call he always took the Blessed Sacrament along, carrying also a small bell. Riding past the farm houses he would ring the bell and the good people came out of the houses or out of the fields to kneel down and pray as he passed by. Kundeck would then bless them with the pyx and ride on to the next place. It surely was a beautiful and touching custom. Years after his death the good people talked of this practice.

His last days were filled with much suffering for he was confined to his bed for months. If I remember aright, he was afflicted with a sort of dropsy which caused his leg to swell and finally developed into a running sore.

Father Isidore had to prepare him for death. Kundeck ordered that he be placed in a little shed out on the church grounds. This must have been on a Sunday, for Father Isidore had orders to summon the entire congregation for that occasion. Slowly his good people filed past him; they could see him for the last time and he could look upon them again. Finally, Father Isidore came with the Blessed Sacrament. Kundeck had been anointed the day before, and while the faithful knelt down, forming a half-circle before the hut, Father Isidore made ready to give the stricken pastor Holy Communion. "*Corpus Domini*," he began. "Stop!" cried out Father Kundeck, and sitting up on his pallet, he preached a remarkable sermon on the Blessed Sacrament in which he thanked God for His many blessings, asked forgiveness for his many failings, and then finally, admonishing his faithful to remain firm in the faith, he confided them to the care of God. "Now go on," he cried out, and then received Communion most devoutly.

Father Kundeck died December 4, 1857. He was laid to rest at Jasper on December 6, upon which occasion Father Ulrich Christen preached while Father Chrysostom said the Mass. His assistants at the altar were Fathers Bede O'Connor and Isidore Hobi. Afterward his good parishioners erected a worthy monument to the memory of

their saintly pastor in the cemetery of Jasper. Today Jasper is a prosperous, happy congregation, three Benedictine Fathers being stationed there to take care of the numerous faithful.

LETTERS BY FATHER KUNDECK

Jasper, December, 23, 1844.

Your Grace :

Six years ago the writer organized the parish here in Jasper. The church is of brick and was named in honor of St. Joseph. As this parish became so large, I decided to found another settlement, which I named Ferdinand. As these two places together numbered three hundred families, I built up a third town, named Celestine, already numbering forty families. There I also erected a church which was recently blessed by the Bishop, and named St. Celestine. There is room for some 160 more families to settle around the church; they can buy government land at \$1.25 an acre. As soon as conditions warrant, a priest will be placed in charge.

These three missions now total some four hundred Catholic families, attended by the writer and by a priest who lives at Ferdinand. In order to reach our place it is best to travel down to Ohio, landing at Troy. The faithful there also desire a priest. Ferdinand lies twelve miles west of here, while Celestine is ten miles east of Jasper; thus these three places form a triangle. The land is so good that, generally speaking, Catholics could not desire any better. There is a market here for everything that is produced.

I write these lines to inform your Grace how happy I am to be able to work thus for our holy mother the Church, and for her growth in this new land. I take an especial pride in the convent located here of the Sisters of Divine Providence; their prayers and good example are a power for untold good in these communities.

Your devoted servant,

JOS. KUNDECK.

* * * *

July 3, 1845

Owing to the great press of various duties I could not give you a report until now. Hardly had the lenten season with its work come to a close when I was asked by the Vicar General, in the absence of our Bishop, to visit the stations of Leopold, Freedom, Leavenworth, Amsterdam, Kingsplace, Rockport, St. Michael, Lanesville, etc., and give the people there the consolations of our holy religion. And if I happened to land in places where no Catholics had settled I was told

to preach to the non-Catholics in order to convert them to the faith. How I rejoice that I am a priest, and that I am privileged to work here in this mission country; that I have the opportunity to speak to the non-Catholics in their meeting houses and schools, where I then expound the great truths of the Catholic Church. What a heavenly business, what a delight it is to win souls for Christ! With the grace of God I had great success, especially in Leavenworth. On the third Sunday of Pentecost I preached for over six hours to my listeners about the Mass, confession, baptism, holy water, Catholic practice, etc.; in the presence of several preachers here at Leavenworth, and who finally left, entirely vanquished by the logic of my talk. Although convinced of the truth of my words, yet the grace of God did not soften their hearts, as they were too proud and conceited in their errors. Still I had the great satisfaction of converting some of the people, and by means of money which I gathered from Protestants I bought a little school house which I converted into a church for the little flock. St. Michaels and Lanesville, which I visited later, are solidly Catholic. In these parishes I said Mass, heard confessions, and sought as far as possible to encourage these poor people who so eagerly wish to have a priest constantly in their midst.

I must make mention of two great celebrations held at Jasper which helped greatly to add to the joy and consolation of my parishioners. First, we celebrated Corpus Christi, and after that came the cornerstone laying of the church at Ferdinand. I tried this year especially to celebrate Corpus Christi in as solemn a manner as possible. As to the church in Ferdinand, it has largely been made possible by the money given to me by the Leopoldine Association. At the dedication there were twelve priests present and we carried out all the ceremonies of the Church prescribed for such occasions. Ferdinand had never witnessed so solemn an occasion before, and all were deeply moved and edified.

After that I conducted a service in Jasper which is seldom observed in this country, and which took place on the feast of St. Barnabas. I had a cross made for the Jasper cemetery which was some twenty-seven feet long; the corpus measured nine feet. Eighty men carried it around the church three times amid the chanting of the psalms, and then they reverently brought it to the cemetery, where it was erected. Nor did I forget to speak earnestly to my hearers, reminding them of their duty to be always ready for the call of death. And now the beautiful cross is raised aloft in our cemetery; although this sight is common in Europe, yet it is a rarity here.

I pray earnestly each day that God may send His bountiful blessings upon you, and upon all those who give so generously to the support of our mission places.

Your humble servant,

JOSEPH KUNDECK.

* * * *

May 24, 1841.

I have just recovered from an illness of seven weeks' duration, the result of my long mission tours. I was so exhausted in the end that I could not raise up from my straw pallet, and had to confide myself to the care of good people in the absence of proper medical attention. Doctors are scarce here, and when you do obtain one it takes a lot of money to pay him for the visit. Thank God I recovered and can now again take care of my duties. Right after recuperating I made a seven hundred mile mission trip, during which I preached thirty sermons in five weeks, and heard more than eight hundred confessions. Right after returning to Jasper I went to Ferdinand, where I gave the faithful an opportunity to attend to their religious duties. The grace of God strengthened me and consoled me to such an extent that I cannot thank God enough for it.

When I consider that until a few years ago these forests were the home of Indians; when I think that Jasper is now only eight years old; when I consider that Catholicity has struck such mighty roots in this new country that we could build a church here, then I must marvel at the workings of Divine providence. The cornerstone of this church was laid on September 8, 1840, in the presence of Bishop de la Hailandiere; on the same day he confirmed 53 children.

This interesting and impressive ceremony did not fail to make even a lasting impressions on the assembled Protestants. No doubt they will have a better opinion of our church after this, and I feel certain that the sermons preached by the priest from Madison, Ind., will not have failed to do a great deal of good in their hearts. During his stay of four days here in Jasper he preached five times.

The parish of Jasper is also indebted greatly to Father Blank of Louisville, who came here all the way on horseback in order to preach on three occasions and to help me with the church duties. On the same day I founded the Congregation of the Blessed Virgin; some seventy persons were enrolled who, by means of their prayers, will help promote the good work instituted here.

Yes, it was a wonderful sight to see so many Catholics march in procession in a place where, until four years ago, there was not a sign of a Catholic Church. Upon arriving here I found 39 families; now there are more than 131. What a wonderful outlook!

The new church will stand on one of the finest spots in town. The church property comprises some 22 acres. Up to the present time I have spent over three thousand dollars on this church. If God and the Leopoldine Association do not come to my rescue, I must fail. Bishop de la Hailandiere has promised to give me the sum of 200 dollars. As the people are so poor, not much can be expected from them. I hope that God will help me to get aid elsewhere. The money that I obtained lately from the L. A. I shall use for that purpose. Again, I must thank you for helping me.

I was lately called to Pittsburgh, Pa., on duties of a sacerdotal nature; this city is some five hundred miles from here. Since this is a land of magnificent distances, a missionary must not mind 500 or even a thousand miles. He is in the service of the Lord and therefore cannot shirk his duty. With permission from the Bishop of Cincinnati, I went by way of Wheeling, and on the way I attended to the wants of the Catholics living along my way, people who had been deprived of the Sacraments for many years.

I never grow tired of speaking the word of God to these people and giving them the consolation of our holy religion. Would that, like St. Paul, I might gain all men for Christ!

In Blairfield and Tailorsfield I met with a lot of success. All rejoiced upon having the opportunity of having a German priest in their midst. Yes, there is a sad lack in Ohio of priests conversant with the German language. Out in these dense forests there are people who have not seen a priest for years; the laborers are few while the harvest is great. Counting upon God to send many laborers into His vineyard, I continue to cast out my nets in the hope of garnering in many souls. What sweet work! What consolation!

Your humble servant,

JOS. KUNDECK.

* * * *

July 27, 1842.

To judge from the material standpoint I am rather miserable, but I am content and happy, for which I thank God most graciously.

At present the Ferdinand congregation numbers some eighty families; they are all very poor. The church stands in the central part of town; it is of stone, while the house is a frame structure. Your Grace must forgive me when I state to you openly that I could shed tears of joy for being privileged to endure such poverty and want in this new land. At times it seems to me that I am entirely deserted, living as I do among Americans, Irish, Germans, French and English, far

from my native shores. Yet this tends only to make me draw nearer to God, our only true joy and hope.

Our church here in Jasper is of brick construction ; it was made possible by the donations of the good people in Austria. The parish now numbers some two hundred families. Although the building was not entirely complete, yet the Bishop blessed it on the feast of the Immaculate Conception. On the 7th of December, accompanied by eight other mounted men, I rode eight miles to Porterville to meet the Bishop, and to conduct him and his two reverend companions to Jasper in procession. After proceeding on our way for a mile or so, two companies of my men fired off three salvos in honor of our guest, and then marched along in the procession. When we came to the Sisters' house we found the boys and girls in procession, awaiting us ; the Bishop was now conducted to my parsonage, where I made him welcome. Just think, this is the place where, three years ago, there stood a miserable log church, and where there were only thirty-nine poor families. Now the number of the children is far greater. However, the procession of the little ones had been unduly swelled by the presence of a number of non-Catholic youngsters who gladly took part in the unusual celebration. Three years ago these same youngsters whispered "Priest! Priest!" in suspicious tones whenever I had to pass them.

The next day a great throng came to the church to witness the dedication service. Yes, it was a proud day for us Catholics.

After the Gospel, Father Shawe preached an eloquent sermon relative to the great day. After the Mass, and after I had preached a short instruction to the assembled children and their parents, the Bishop confirmed thirty-seven persons. And to think that, until May 27, 1840, when we cleared the ground of this present site, there was nothing here except the primeval forest. May God reward the good will and energy of these good German people for, five years ago, Diogenes could not have located a Catholic with his lantern, no matter how carefully he would have sought them out.

We also tried to make the dedication of the church at Ferdinand as solemn as possible, which celebration was held on Palm Sunday of last year. I named the town thus in order to perpetuate the memory of our King Ferdinand of Austria ; I hope that this will not be misunderstood.

It also has cost me much labor and care to establish the convent here for the Sisters of Divine Providence which I began in accordance with the wishes of the Bishop. Their mother house is in Terre Haute,

where they settled after leaving Ruille Sur Loix in France. They are here in order to conduct a school and also to attend the sick.

Lately I also conducted a mission in Louisville, a little settlement not far from here. During the four days I spent there I preached four times a day, twice in English and twice in German. I did the same in Brownsville; these people had never seen a priest before. Yes, in this new land the priest is a busy man; he is constantly called upon to preach the word of God and I really enjoy it. God is good to me and I can never thank Him enough. He gives me the strength that I am able to preach in English and German three to four times a day.

Imploring you and the Leopoldine Association to remember me in the charity of your prayers, and thanking you for all past favors, I remain,

Your devoted servant,

REV. JOSEPH KUNDECK.

II—REVEREND JOSEPH FERNEDING, V. G.

It has long been an ardent wish on my part to be able to write a short biographical sketch of Vicar General Ferneding of Cincinnati. Now, after obtaining the necessary documentary evidence from Rev. G. H. Von der Ahe, chaplain of the St. Aloysius Orphanage, Cincinnati, Ohio, and from the Franciscan Sisters at Oldenburg, Indiana, I am at last in a position to fulfill this ardent wish.

Joseph Ferneding was born at Ihorst, in the parish of Holdorf, Damme, in the province of Oldenburg, Germany, February 18, 1802. His father's name was Ferdinand Hoeltermann and his mother's, Mary Elizabeth Roling, both hailing from Damme; however, when they were married they came into the possession of the Ferneding farm at Ihorst, and as the custom obtained at that time, the family Hoeltermann had to adopt the name Ferneding. Joseph was the youngest in a family of seven children. Upon the death of the father, Herman Joseph, the oldest son inherited all the property, while the rest of the children received their share of the estate in money. After young Joseph had completed the elementary course of studies at Holdorf, he attended the Carolinum College at Oldenburg; after that, he attended the Academy in Muenster.

About that time large numbers of Germans were emigrating to the United States. Ferneding, the young theologian, was soon fired with the same ambition and set sail for this country from Bremen in April, 1832. Landing in Baltimore he hastened on to Cincinnati, where some of his friends had settled. It was his aim to be ordained to the priesthood here and join the Cincinnati diocese.

Alas, upon arriving he learned that Bishop Fenwick was absent on a confirmation tour in the Great Lakes region. Naturally, Vicar General Rese could not accept the young theologian on his own authority and therefore advised Ferneding to engage in some occupation while awaiting the return of the Bishop. Ferneding took the advice to heart and for a while taught school near the present St. Francis Xavier Church in Cincinnati, together with a young man named Juncker, who later became bishop. However, at the close of the school term young Ferneding went to Louisville, Kentucky, where he obtained employment as a common laborer at the Portland canal. He was of powerful build, healthy, robust, and therefore was able to do this strenuous work. Besides, he had to earn some money in order to be able to pay his expenses while awaiting the return of Bishop Fenwick. For a time he also taught school among the German Catholics in Louisville.

When he was notified that Bishop Fenwick had died suddenly at Wooster on September 26, 1832, he decided not to defer preparing for his ordination any longer; and so turned to Bishop Flaget of Bardstown, Kentucky, who sent the young man to his seminary, and then ordained him on July 25, 1833. He spent the first weeks of his priestly life as assistant to Father Abel in Louisville, attending mainly to the wants of the many Germans who were flocking into that city. Besides, he was already acquainted with some of them, as he had been in their midst the year before. That same fall Bishop Flaget sent him to work north of the Ohio River. At this time Indiana, as well as the eastern part of Illinois, belonged to the diocese of Bardstown. Father Ferneding was supposed to have charge of all the Germans in Southern Indiana (Vincennes and Indianapolis), as also of those living in Louisville.

From his headquarters in New Alsace, Father Ferneding took care of Madison, Jefferson county, Oldenburg, St. Peters, Brookville, St. Mary of the Rocks, Franklin county; Lawrenceburg, St. Nicholas and Napoleon, Ripley county; Millhausen, Decatur county; Prescott, Shelby county; Richmond, Wayne county, etc. From Louisville he also attended New Albany and St. Mary of the Knobs, Floyd county. In St. Nicholas the table is still preserved upon which he said Mass; also a small oil lamp which he used. A nephew of Nicholas Baer had these relics in his possession until he turned them over to the church in 1875.

This Mr. Baer often stated that there was more real devotion in that little church of those days than can be found now in much larger and more beautiful structures. An amusing incident occurred on the

solemn occasion of the first Mass in this district. Mr. Baer remembered that a bell was generally used to give a sign to the faithful at the moment of the elevation. Diving under the bed, he dragged out a mammoth cowbell, which he shook with a vim. Such was his ardor that long after the elevation he kept up the violent admonition. A neighbor induced him to put aside his bell. Father Ferneding continued visiting these Catholics once a month for a year. He received thirty-seven dollars for his annual salary, or three dollars a month. Rev. Joseph Rudolf afterwards attended St. Nicholas for a number of years most faithfully.

On May 6, 1834, the diocese of Vincennes was established and Bishop Bruté, the first bishop of the diocese, was consecrated in St. Louis on October 28, 1834. Thus it happened that Father Ferneding now found himself a member of the Vincennes diocese.

The year 1842 was destined to make a great change in the future career of this valiant priest. He had made the acquaintance of Father Clement Hammer of St. Mary's Church, Cincinnati, and as more German priests were imperatively needed in that city, due to the large influx of Germans, this priest prevailed on Father Ferneding to give up New Alsace, and instead work in Cincinnati. It was a common thing at that time for a priest to go from one diocese to the other. Although he was now forty years of age, he acted as Father Hammer's assistant. The following year, while Father Hammer was in Europe, Ferneding built a new school for St. Mary's parish.

Upon his return from Europe, October 29, 1836, Vicar General Henni had embarked on two important undertakings: the founding of St. Aloysius Orphanage, January 27, 1837, and the inception of the *Wahrheitsfreund*, the first issue appearing on July 20, 1837. Later, when Henni left Cincinnati towards the end of March, 1844, to serve as Bishop of Milwaukee, Bishop Purell named Father Ferneding as his Vicar General, and also put him in charge of the orphanage. "Papa Oertel" took charge of the *Wahrheitsfreund*.

In 1845 Father Ferneding bought a tract of land, using a part of it for the site of St. John's Church, a parish which he founded. He was so successful in selling off this land in lots that upon the completion of St. John's Church, the parish had to face a debt of only 1,500 dollars. In 1848 the present St. Paul's Church was founded under his able direction. The cornerstone was laid on July 26, 1848, amid great solemnity; Bishop Purell spoke in English, while Father Ferneding delivered an oration in German. During the summer of that year building operations had to cease due to the cholera epidemic. The church was dedicated on July 20, 1850, Father Ferneding having

been appointed pastor before that date. He remained pastor of St. Paul's until 1866, when he retired, at sixty-four years of age, to St. Aloysius Orphanage, to spend there the last years of his eventful and fruitful life.

On January 21, 1872, the 23rd anniversary of the founding of St. Paul's Church, Father Ferneding assisted Archbishop Purcell as arch-priest at the solemn function, and that afternoon addressed the Ladies' Society. It proved to be the last visit to his beloved parish. On Tuesday morning, January 30, just after he had given a catechetical instruction to the orphans, and had retired to his room, suddenly he was heard to cry out, and when the door was opened he was found lying on the floor, helpless. He had suffered a stroke which had paralyzed his left side. That same night he died. He was laid to rest on February 5 and great throngs paid him the last honor. The golden jubilee book of St. Aloysius' Orphanage, published January 30, 1887, concludes with these appropriate lines: "Those who were privileged to see the old gentleman, with his silvery locks, spending the evening of his life amid his beloved charges, the orphans, will ever cherish a beautiful picture in their memory, a picture bearing the legend: Joseph Ferneding, Vicar General and Lover of orphans."

Steltenpohl writes as follows in regard to his love for the little ones: "As he grew older he developed a great love for children, and it often happened, when he passed through the streets of the parish, or later moved about at the asylum, with his slightly stooped form and his hands clasped upon his back, that:

"Children followed with endearing guile
 And plucked his gown to share the old man's smile,
 His ready smile a parent's warmth expressed,
 Their welfare pleased him and their cares distressed.
 To them his heart, his love, his griefs were given."

—*Goldsmith.*

[In writing this short sketch we used the Golden Jubilee account of St. Aloysius Orphanage, Sunday, January 30, 1887; *Stray Leaves* from the History of St. Paul's Congregation, January 20, 1900, compiled by Clement Steltenpohl; *Souvenir, Diamond Jubilee, St. Paul's Church, New Alsace, Ind.*; notes compiled by a niece of Father Ferneding's, Oldenburg, Ind.]

MONSIGNOR FRANCIS S. HOLWECK.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES (Continued)

[Eleventh National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies held at Louisville, Ky., August 18-21, 1912. Rt. Rev. D. O'Donaghue, D. D., Bishop of Louisville, Ky., Sponsor.]

The Eleventh National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies was held in Louisville, Ky., August 18-21, 1912. The opening services were held at St. Mary's Cathedral with His Excellency, Most Rev. John Bonzano, D. D., Apostolic Delegate, as celebrant.

The masterful sermon was preached by Rt. Rev. James A. McFaul, Bishop of Trenton, N. J. The bishop spoke on "Education." He warned Catholics and non-Catholics against the irreligious and atheistical doctrines propagated in certain of our universities. "I maintained," said Bishop McFaul, "that certain professors taught that there was no God; that Christ was not divine; that the Ten Commandments were fossilized; that morality was only a matter of conventionality; that the Bible was a myth and not the word of God." The bishop then spoke of Federation and said: "We are with our non-Catholic neighbors against divorce, race suicide, socialism, the social evil; against intemperance and against the enemies of the Bible, the Ten Commandments and the Divinity of Christ. . . ."

A great parade and pageant in which 21,000 people took part passed through the streets of Louisville in the afternoon and was witnessed by 125,000 people. A feature of the parade was the many beautiful floats, designed to typify incidents of religious and national history.

The mass meeting which followed the parade was held in the Armory. Mr. E. J. Cooney presided. The first speaker, Bishop D. O'Donaghue, of Louisville, was followed by Governor James B. McCreary and Mayor Head of Louisville. Response to these addresses of welcome was made by National President E. Feeney. Mr. Feeney spoke of the old diocese of Bardstown, Ky., as the cradle of our faith in the U. S. west of the Alleghanies, and how its first bishop exercised spiritual jurisdiction over the whole of the Central West. He paid great tribute to His Excellency Archbishop Bonzano, Apostolic Delegate, for honoring the convention with his presence.

Archbishop S. G. Messmer of Milwaukee, one of the founders of the A. F. of C. S., then gave a very illuminating address on "The Principles of Federation." Among other things his Grace said: "I believe I can truthfully state that the Catholic Federation in the

eleven years of its existence has achieved a very glorious success. . . . We have been working for social morality for the observance of the Christian Sunday, for the observance of temperance. We have been working in favor of social purity as regards the theaters and public amusements. In many different ways have we been trying to do our share as well as we could and I believe we are on the way to accomplish great results in what we call 'Social Service.' The whole social question of today is a moral question of right and wrong. A question of right and wrong in the family, in the city, in the State, in all society and among the different members of society. What is the great question of capital and labor today, the great question of trusts? Are they questions of money? Not at all. It is a question of what is right—right for the one who has the money, and right for the one who has to work for it. It is a question of justice—a question of the just wage, the old question that Catholic philosophers have been writing about for thousands of years, long before the Socialists appeared to tell us that there is no just wage. . . . Social Service is well named. It is the service that we do to our fellow-men, to the society in which we live today, to the State and to the Church." . . .

The Archbishop then spoke of the Catholic's rights in this country and said: "I challenge any American to show where the Catholic Church or the Catholic citizen of this country have demanded or claimed any privileges where they have not been just as willing to allow others the very same things they would claim for themselves."

Speaking of Federation, Bishop Muldoon said: "When the Catholic Church gets into action nothing can withstand her. The cause of the people is her cause. The church has always been the champion of the poor and downtrodden. . . . There is a reason for Socialism; there are ills in our social life which are fundamental and which need drastic treatment. The Socialist has pointed them out, but he can go no further, for his are the principles of destruction, of disrespect for the eternal truths of religion which he looks upon as mankind's greatest enemy. There is a panacea, though, for all our ills and that is the grace of God applied to men's hearts by His Church. The Church calls today to all that are downtrodden to look to her as a champion against injustice and wrong, and to the man of rightly gotten wealth she also promises that the same justice shall be dealt to him. Justice is justice. . . . We want the laboring organizations to join right with us in this Federation and to get into personal communication with me or the secretary of our Social Service Department of the A. F. C. S."

The business session on Monday was opened with prayer by Archbishop Messmer. Mr. Edward Feeney presided. Roll call disclosed

that 30 dioceses, 22 national organizations and 14 Catholic institutions were represented, the delegates coming from 26 states and the District of Columbia, from the Philippines and Porto Rico. The national president and the national secretary gave reports of Federation's activities during the year. The reports disclosed that on two occasions did our Holy Father Pius X commend the work of Federation, through Cardinal Merry del Val and Cardinal O'Connell of Boston.

Archbishop Harty of Manila, Philippine Islands, called upon Federation's help to suppress the divorce evil, which was to be introduced into the Philippine Islands. "Our population is 99 per cent Catholic," said the Archbishop, "and we are face to face with a proposed bill for Absolute Divorce. A strong presentation on the part of the Federation to the Bureau of Insular Affairs in Washington may do much good. Should Washington oppose the project it will be defeated. The Federation is our reliance."

President Feeney of the Federation took up this matter with the President of the United States in Washington and a strong protest was filed in which other agencies assisted notably the Catholic Bishops of the Philippines. As a result the divorce measure, which had passed the Philippine Assembly by a vote of 46 to 24, was laid on the table.

On January 27, 1912, Robert G. Valentine, Commissioner of Indian affairs, fired on by Representative Stephens from Texas, issued a circular, No. 601, entitled, "Religious Insignia," which was sent out to all superintendents in charge of Indian schools ordering the removal from government schools all insignia of any religious denomination and forbidding the wearing of the religious garb of the Sisters teaching in government schools. When the order was made public and the attention of the President of the United States was called to it, the order was immediately revoked and Commissioner Valentine was reprimanded for his hasty action.

After the revocation of the order by President Taft, Cardinal Gibbons sent Federation the following letter:

Baltimore, Md., 5 Feb., 1912.

Dear Mr. Matre: Kindly as soon as possible have all the societies of the Federation send congratulations to President Taft on his revocation of the Valentine Anti-garb order; at the same time have them all send a letter of respectful protest to Speaker Champ Clark in regard to the attitude of Representative Stephens of Texas, chairman of the Indian Committee of the House of Representatives, on this and all other questions relating to Catholic Mission interests.

Faithfully yours in Christ,
(Signed) JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS.

The letter of Cardinal Gibbons was immediately acted upon by our Catholic societies and Hon. Champ Clark gave Federation the assurance that he had a talk with Representative Stephens of Texas and that the latter gave him the promise that he would "let up" on his attacks in the religious garb matter.

Commissioner Valentine's career in office was investigated by a Congressional Committee and he resigned September 10, 1912. Father Ketcham, director of the Catholic Indian Bureau, said: "Federation has nobly responded to Cardinal Gibbon's invitation and the letters of the Catholic societies sent to Washington have done an immense amount of good and have made certain authorities sit up and take notice."

The report disclosed that nine theatrical firms were co-operating with Federation in the suppression of objectionable plays. The Friar's Club of New York apologized for displaying an objectionable poster of a monk, which was removed. A French catalogue advertising some of the dirtiest and filthiest books published in French and English was held up in this country on complaint of Federation, and the State Department was asked to have the American Ambassador in Paris to take up the complaint with the French government to get after the French publishing house.

A protest filed with the post office department in Washington to forbid the circulation through the mails of all papers and prints which contain scurrilous and slanderous attacks on the faith of our citizens brought the following reply from Postmaster General Hitchcock under date of March 22, 1912:

"I have to inform you that there is no provision of law under which newspapers or other publications containing violent criticisms on any particular faith may be excluded from the mails, unless such criticisms take the form of *personal* slander, scurrility, or obscenity, in which case the publisher becomes amenable to the criminal laws of the United States and may be fined or imprisoned, or both, and his publication debarred from the mails. It is not probable that under our Federal Constitution, which prohibits interference with religious opinion in any way, a law could be passed restraining criticisms of religious faiths."

The report gave details of the arrest of Thomas Watson for sending slanderous publications through the mails, in which he slandered the priests and bishops and sisterhoods of the Catholic Church—coming under the statute of personal slander.

The outrageous attacks on Christianity by the Eleventh Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica was exposed by Rev. John Wynne, S. J.,

and the New York Federation published and circulated broadcast the pamphlet "Poisoning the Wells, No. 2."

A report on a Catholic Y. M. C. A. was made and a special committee composed of Bishop Joseph Schrembs of Toledo, Messrs. C. A. Slinger of Indianapolis, J. M. Walker of Philadelphia, C. T. Daly of Boston and John Price of Columbus, Ohio, was named to further the cause.

Progress was reported on the proposed Catholic Federation for Women, of which the following were in charge: Mrs. Rose Rittman, Illinois; Miss Marie L. Points, Louisiana; Mrs. O'Keefe-O'Mahony, Massachusetts; Mrs. Josephine Brown, Ohio. Father Leander Roth of Louisiana reported the successful establishment of a Woman's Branch in Louisiana.

Progress was reported in the establishment of a World Federation of Catholic organizations and letters of endorsement favoring such a movement came from Italy, England, Canada, Australia, Austria, Germany, and Ireland.

A report on social service work was made by Reverend P. E. Dietz, and Federation's activities at the convention of the American Federation of Labor was explained.

At the afternoon session Rev. Warren Currier gave a report on the Indian Bureau and Missions. Rev. P. Finegan, S. J., the delegate from the Philippine Islands, gave a detailed account of conditions in that island: "We have seven millions of Catholics in the Philippines," said Father Finegan, "but we have not as many priests as you have in New York and Philadelphia together. My work is to labor among the government students of Manila."

Letters from five Cardinals, two Apostolic Delegates, ten Archbishops, 41 Bishops and three Abbots were read by the national secretary.

Monday evening was given over to the social department of Federation, of which Bishop P. Muldoon of Rockford, Ill., was the chairman. Addresses on social service subjects were given by Mr. Michael Fanning, manager of the Preston Coal Co. of West Virginia, the title of his subject being "Social Service"; Prof. James Hagerty of the University of Ohio, who spoke on "The Unorganized Worker—his chances for Organization and a Living Wage"; by Mr. Peter C. Collins, on "The Organized Worker and Socialism"; by Mr. Nicholas Gonnor of Dubuque, Ia., on "The Employer"; by Mr. Peter J. Meardle of Pittsburgh, Pa., on "Public Opinion and Social Legislation."

An interesting discussion followed these subjects participated in by Bishop Muldoon, Judge M. F. Girtten, Mr. Budenz, Rev. Van Nistelroy, P. J. McArdle and Edward Feeney.

The musical concert given by the combined choirs of Louisville at the armory was directed by Prof. Anthony Molengraft. Five thousand people attended. The author of "Jubilate," Rev. Ignatius Wilkens, O. F. M., who was on the stage, received an ovation after the rendition of his selection. Impromptu addresses were given at the concert by Rev. J. J. Wynne, S. J., of New York; Rev. B. Hanley, C. P., and Rt. Rev. J. E. Gunn, Bishop of Natchez, Miss. Dr. Peter Ganz of Louisville, Ky., presided.

Prior to the opening of the business sessions on Tuesday, Archbishop Messmer celebrated pontifical Requiem Mass at St. Boniface Church. The business meetings were presided over by Edward Feeney. A report of the Committee on Public Morals by Rev. Father Heiermann, S. J., president of St. Xavier's College, Cincinnati, was read and discussed. Bishop Tihen of Lincoln, Neb., addressed the delegates on "Social Service" and Archbishop Messmer also spoke.

During the afternoon session Bishop McFaul drew Federation's attention to a malicious article about a Catholic bishop which appeared in "World's Work," August 1912, entitled "Our Danger in Central America," by William Bayard Hale; also an article in Harper's Weekly attacking the decree of the Pope in regard to marriage.

The committee on a Catholic Women's Federation made its report recommending the appointment of a special committee to report at the next national convention, whether it is advisable to form a separate woman's Federation or to continue with the present Federation. Archbishop Messmer, Very Rev. Canon Leander Roth and Archbishop Blenk of New Orleans spoke at length on this subject.

Seven thousand people were present at the Louisville Armory to attend the second mass meeting of the convention. Mr. E. J. Cooney presided. Addresses were made by Bishop McFaul, Bishop O'Donoghue, and Archbishop John Bonzano.

When His Excellency Most Rev. John Bonzano, Apostolic Delegate, was introduced a tremendous ovation was tendered him. It was His Excellency's first address. He apologized for his limited English, for he had just been in the United States a few weeks. "My first word is one of thanks for having been invited to your convention," said Archbishop Bonzano. "This is the first time I left Washington and here in Louisville I celebrated my first pontifical Mass since my consecration as a Bishop."

“My second word is a word of congratulation. Our Lord said that if we will know how good is the tree, we must look at its fruit. Well, just a glance at the fruits of this gigantic tree, which is the American Federation of Catholic Societies, convinces one that this tree is a very good one. In fact this Federation stands strongly for all the principles which are the very foundation and basis not only of the Catholic Church, but also of every civic society. The Federation has extended its work to protect and defend the freedom of the church, the sanctity of the marriage, of morality in public life and to secure every social welfare. No wonder then that the work of the A. F. C. S. has met with the approval of the American episcopate, of my illustrious predecessor Cardinal Falconio, and with the higher approbation of the Holy Father himself. Members of the Federation, go forward, for God and with God.”

Among others who addressed the mass meeting were Lieutenant Governor of Kentucky Edward J. McDermott (Catholic) who spoke on “Religion and Good Citizenship”; Rev. H. Westropp, S. J., and Chief Hollow Horn Bear, who spoke on “Indian Mission Schools.”

One of the features of the mass meeting was an address by Rev. J. H. Dorsey, Colored Priest of Montgomery, Ala., who spoke on “What Has the Church Done for the Negro?” Among other things Father Dorsey said that his whole race, Catholic and non-Catholic, feel honored that he, a Negro priest, had been invited to address this convention. “When I was raised to the priesthood in the Catholic Church,” said Father Dorsey, “a girl graduate of one of the universities said to me, ‘Father Dorsey, with your elevation to the priesthood, the colored people of this country have been advanced one hundred years’.” . . . He then spoke of the founding of the Oblate Sisters in Baltimore in 1829 and of other colored sisterhoods; of the five Negro priests now laboring among his people in the United States, and stated that many of the twelve million colored people would embrace the Catholic religion if more Catholic schools for colored people were erected in the South. . . .

At Wednesday’s sessions the following resolutions were adopted: *Religious*: Loyalty to the Holy Father; Religious Persecution in Albania, France, Portugal; Home and Foreign Missions; the Philippines; Sunday Observance; the Press; Catholic Encyclopedia; Catholic Art; Immoral Literature, Pictures, etc.; Theatres and Theatricals; Religious Care for Prisoners; Juvenile Associations; Catholic Citizenship; World Federation.

Educational: Catholic System of Education; High Schools; State Support; National University; Catholic Teacher’s Institutes; Grad-

uating Exercises in Churches; Bible Reading in Public Schools; Catholic Action among Professional Men.

Social: Betterment of Social Conditions; White Slave Traffic; Divorce; Laymen's Retreat Movement; World Peace.

The treasurer's report disclosed that the total receipts with balance on hand amounted to \$9,603.80. The expenditures (including publication of the Federation Bulletin) were \$7,013.79. Balance on hand, \$2,590.01.

Archbishop Messmer then spoke on Federation's finances and stated that more funds were now needed to carry on its Social Service Department as Federation was expanding. Mr. Anthony Matre followed Archbishop Messmer's address and made a strong plea for funds and urged the formation of a "Life Membership Plan." As a result \$9,800 was subscribed for at the meeting.

Mr. Edward Feeney, who had faithfully served Federation as president for a number of years, declined to serve longer. In his place Mr. Charles I. Denechaud of New Orleans, La., was elected unanimously to succeed Mr. Feeney. The other officers elected were: Vice Presidents: Thos. P. Flynn, Chicago, Ill.; J. A. Coller, Shakopee, Minn.; Joseph Frey, New York, N. Y.; J. J. Hynes, Buffalo, N. Y.; James J. Regan, St. Paul, Minn., and Dr. P. Ganz, Louisville, Ky. National Secretary, Anthony Matre, St. Louis, Mo.; Treasurer, F. W. Heckinkamp, Quincy, Ill.; Marshall, J. W. West, Kansas City, Kans.; Color Bearer, Chief Horn Bear, Pine Ridge, S. Dak.

Executive Board: Most Rev. S. G. Messmer, Rt. Rev. J. A. McFaul, Thos. H. Cannon, Esq., Chicago, Ill.; F. W. Immekus, Pittsburgh, Pa.; Daniel Duffy, Portsville, Pa.; Nicholas Gonner, Dubuque, Iowa; John Whalen, Esq., New York, N. Y.; C. W. Wallace, Columbus, Ohio; H. V. Cunningham, Esq., Boston, Mass.; Edward Feeney, Brooklyn, N. Y.; C. H. Schulte, Detroit, Mich.

[*Twelfth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies held in Milwaukee, Wis., August 10, 11, 12, 13, 1913. Most Rev. Sebastian G. Messmer, D. D., Archbishop of Milwaukee, Sponsor.*]

The Twelfth National Convention of the American Federation of Catholic Societies was held in Milwaukee, Wis., August 10-13, 1913. The solemn opening took place at St. John's Cathedral with His Eminence James Cardinal Gibbons officiating. The following prelates were in attendance: Archbishop S. G. Messmer of Milwaukee, Wis.; Archbishop John Ireland of St. Paul, Minn.; Archbishop J. J. Glennon of St. Louis, Mo.; Archbishop James E. Quigley of Chicago, Ill.;

Archbishop J. J. Keane of Dubuque, Iowa; Bishop J. A. McFaul of Trenton, N. J.; Bishop P. J. Muldoon of Rockford, Ill.; Bishop C. Van de Ven of Alexandria, La.; Bishop James Schwebach of La Crosse, Wis.; Bishop H. J. Richter of Grand Rapids, Mich.; Bishop J. Fox of Green Bay, Wis.; Bishop T. F. Lillis of Kansas City, Mo.; Bishop J. J. Hennessy of Wichita, Kans.; Bishop M. F. Burke of St. Joseph, Mo.; Bishop E. F. Dunne of Peoria, Ill.; Bishop J. F. Buseh of Lead, S. Dak.; Bishop D. J. O'Connell of Richmond, Va.; Bishop E. D. Kelly, Auxiliary of Detroit, Mich.; Bishop P. J. Garrigan of Sioux City, Ia.; Bishop J. J. Hartley of Columbus, Ohio; Bishop J. Ward of Leavenworth, Kans.; Bishop J. M. Koudelka of Superior, Wis.; Msgr. M. J. Lavelle of New York; Msgr. P. J. Supple of Boston; Msgr. A. J. Teeling of Lynn, Mass.; Msgr. A. F. Roehle, Watertown, Mass.; Msgr. M. J. Lochemer of Racine, Wis.; Msgr. Alois Stecher of Newark, N. J.; Msgr. F. A. O'Brien of Kalamazoo, Mich.; Msgr. P. J. Loehman of Kaukanna, Wis.; Msgr. A. P. Kremer of Genoa, Wis., and almost 200 priests.

The sermon was preached by Archbishop J. J. Keane of Dubuque, Iowa. The Archbishop said in part: "The program of Federation has no political purpose. The Catholics of this country are a great cosmopolitan body, professing and defending nearly every form of political creed save Socialism. Earnest, practical Catholics are here convinced to deliberate as to the means for promoting works of religion and education, and for opposing the forces, anti-religious and anti-social, which threaten the welfare of mankind. There is much to encourage, much to enlighten." The Archbishop then spoke of the progress by the Church, both at home and abroad, and stated that Protestantism as a system of religious truth had collapsed. He stated that lay apostles were needed and that a splendid galaxy of lay apostles are now doing much in England to commend our faith to the great mind of the English people.

A street parade took place Sunday afternoon. It was the longest in Milwaukee's history and was reviewed by Cardinal Gibbons and the visiting prelates. This was followed by a mass meeting presided over by Hon. Henry Cummings. Addresses of welcome were made by Mayor G. A. Bading and Mr. J. M. Callahan, to which Mr. Charles I. Denechaud, president of the A. F. of C. S., responded. Archbishop S. G. Messmer of Milwaukee then made the announcement that Pope Pius X had delegated Cardinal Gibbons to bestow his special Apostolic Blessing upon the convention.

Cardinal Gibbons said in part: "I rejoice in the gathering together of intelligent laymen and bless those men who had the inspira-

tion to establish this Federation of Catholic Societies, so that the clergy and the people may come nearer together and be consequently the more strengthened and the better able to advance and guide Catholic interests.

An enlightened and zealous laity are the glory of the Christian Church. . . . When the Bishops and the clergy and the laity are united together in any measure affecting the interests of God and humanity, there is no such word as fail. . . . The members of the American Federation of Catholic Societies are a joy to all of us, a jewel in our crown, and their good works are made manifest throughout the length and breadth of these United States. . . . 'Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works and glorify your Father Who is in Heaven.' . . . 'We should be united—bishop, clergy and laity. We have been too much apart in former times, as if there was a different heaven for us and a different heaven for you. Are we not all, clergy and laity, children of the same Heavenly Father? Are we not all the same flesh and blood? Are we not all purified by the Blood of Christ, who died for the laymen as well as for the prelate?' . . .

Cardinal Gibbons then imparted the Papal Blessing.

The first day's convention closed with a meeting and concert at the Milwaukee Auditorium. Ten thousand people attended. The musical program, in which about one thousand singers took part, was in charge of Prof. Otto A. A. Singenberger.

Mr. Charles I. Denechaud, national president, opened the business session Monday morning. The Credentials Committee reported that 37 dioceses, 22 national organizations, 10 educational institutions, 25 states, the District of Columbia and the Federation of England were represented by special delegates.

The reports of the officers were the features of the meeting. National Secretary Anthony Matre reported on the continued growth of Federation, growth of its Associated Membership, now numbering twelve thousand, and the growth of its life members.

The report showed Federation's activities in trying to band together the various existing young men's organizations for the purposes of forming a Catholic Y. M. C. A. Bishop J. Schrembs of Toledo, who was chairman of the Special Committee, presented a plan of organizing a Catholic Y. M. C. A. as follows:

"Let each of the existing larger bodies of young men's organizations send a number of delegates to a special convention called for the purpose of unification and held under the direction of a bishop. At this convention a plan of union could be elaborated. There ought to

be prepared for the consideration of this convention, a carefully drawn scheme of fundamental principles which must underlie the union and chapter headings forming the basis of the new constitution.

It is my firm conviction that no existing organization of young men will be able in its present form to absorb the other organizations. They must merge, each being willing to give and take, in the preparation of the new constitution. Let the best features of each be combined to create a strong National Union of Catholic Young Men.

If three or four of the larger existing organizations would agree upon this plan a call might be issued to all the supreme bodies of Catholic Young Men's Societies of the country to send accredited delegates to a national convention under the auspices of the Catholic Federation Committee. This to my mind is the only way to get results and I cheerfully submit this plan for consideration."

Tom Watson, arch-defamer of the Catholic Church and one-time candidate for the Presidency of the United States on the Populist ticket, slandered the Catholic priesthood in his magazine "Watson's Magazine." The foulest slanders were directed against Cardinal O'Connell, Cardinal Gibbons and Catholic sisterhoods. Federation directed the attention of the advertisers to these foul articles, asking all reputable firms to register a complaint against their publication in "Watson's Magazine." As a result some eighteen firms withdrew their support, and, according to the statement of the business manager of the offending paper, who, after his discharge, called on the National Secretary of the A. F. of C. S., thousands of honest subscribers discontinued their subscriptions on account of Watson's insults to the Catholic Church. The Post Office inspector caused the arrest of Watson for sending slanderous literature through the mails. A federal grand jury indicted him and the trial was set for March 17 and was postponed to April. Everything was ready for the trial. Watson called to his aid as chief witness ex-priest Seguin of Wisconsin and had four attorneys to help defend him. Just on the eve of the trial, Judge Emory Speer, who was to try the case, disqualified and a later date had to be fixed.

The magazine "World's Work" published a malicious article by Bayard Hale about a Catholic Bishop of Hayti and about the Catholics of that island. Federation requested the author to give the name of the Catholic Bishop; instead the author stated "that it would be uncharitable on his part to make public the name of the Bishop who has fallen in such lamentable errors."

Upon this lame rejoinder, Federation wrote to the Archbishop of Hayti. Most Rev. Julius Pichon, Coadjutor Archbishop, responded

and branded the article as a calumny, pregnant with stupidity, and defied Hale to give the name of the Bishop alluded to in his article. He also defended the Catholics of Hayti. The letter of Archbishop Pichon was given to the Catholic Press and widely published—many editors made editorial comments. A special letter was sent by Federation to the editor of "World's Work" asking for the publication of Archbishop Pichon's response to Mr. Hale. The letter was not published in "World's Work," but, instead, Mr. Hale took issue with Bishop McFaul, who had exposed him, and replied in the *New York Herald* that the Bishop alluded to was not of the "Roman" Catholic faith. Bishop McFaul responded to Hale's letter in the *Herald* stating: "That anyone who read Hale's article concluded that it was written with the intention to cast *reflection* upon the Catholic Church. Fortunately, however, the Federation is alert and ready to refute such calumnies."

"The Guardians of Liberty," an anti-Catholic organization, circulated a pamphlet broadcast containing a supposed statement of Abraham Lincoln predicting disaster to this country because of the Catholic Church and the Jesuits. The National Secretary forwarded a copy of the circular to Lincoln's son, Robert T. Lincoln, who replied:

Manchester, Vt., Nov. 4, 1912.

In reply to your inquiry respecting the authenticity of an alleged quotation of my father in an anti-Catholic circular enclosed by you: I never before heard of it or anything like it. An examination of the indexes to his papers and letters disclose no authority for it and I have no doubt that it is a simple invention from beginning to end. It is quite impossible that its author could also be the author of a letter to Archbishop Hughes, written by my father requesting the suggestion of persons of the Catholic faith for appointment of chaplains in the army. You can see his letter on page 8 of Vol. VII of the new edition of "Complete Works of Abraham Lincoln," published by the Francis A. Tandy Company, New York, about 1905.

Yours very truly,
ROBERT LINCOLN.

When the National Secretary informed the "Guardians of Liberty" of Robert Lincoln's letter they defied him and stated that the quotation was taken from the writings of ex-priest Chinequey. They stated that Chinequey was a bosom friend of Lincoln and that Lincoln defended Chinequey in a law suit against the Bishop of Peoria, Ill. The National Secretary informed the bigots that Lincoln was assassinated in 1865 and could hardly have taken legal proceedings against the Bishop of Peoria, Ill., whose see was created in 1877, or twelve

years after the death of Lincoln. The bigots did not make further response.

In his report of "Federation Activities," the National Secretary reported instances in which Federation played a prominent part, thus: The defeat of the "Dillingham-Burnett Immigration Bill"; the defeat of the "Convent Inspection Bill," which had been introduced in the legislatures of Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska and Arkansas; the calling to time of Bishop William Burt, a Methodist Bishop of Buffalo, by Bishop Joseph Schrembs, a member of Federation's Advisory Board, who vilified the Catholic Church; an apology by the editor of the "Republic" of St. Louis for the publication of a scurrilous article against the Church; calling to time the Methodist Episcopal Minister Kochler for making grave charges against the Catholic Filipinos; crusade against bad films; white slave traffic; animal dances; immoral theatricals, and suppression of Sunday work.

After the reading of the National Secretary's report, His Grace Archbishop Messmer stepped upon the stage and stated he had received two messages from Rome which he now wished to read. The first message contained the Apostolic Benediction, which the Holy Father sent to the convention. The second message read as follows:

Beloved Son: Greetings and Apostolic Blessing. By the strong recommendations and high praise offered Us in your behalf by the Archbishop of St. Louis, by the Archbishop of Milwaukee and the Bishop of Trenton, we perceive that you are not only a gentleman of an exemplary Christian character, but also that you have for twelve years with zeal and wisdom exercised the office of National Secretary of the American Federation of Catholic Societies. The prelates above mentioned tell us that by your indefatigable efforts you have successfully furthered the growth of this fruitful Federation, and by your strenuous work in the past as in the present you have become the pillar and life of this Union.

We, therefore, desire to bestow upon you a worthy recognition of your long labors, which shall be at once a reward for your merits and an expression of our good will towards you. Hence by these letters we elect and create you a *Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great*, of the civilian class, and enroll you in the honorable body of these Knights and grant you the right of wearing the proper vesture of this Knightly Order. . . .

Given at St. Peter's in Rome, under the ring of the Fisherman, on the 11th day of July, 1913, in the tenth year of our Pontificate.

To our beloved son, Anthony Matre.

(Signed) CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL,
Secretary of State.

Archbishop Messmer, after reading the above, stated: "The document does not need any further explanation and I now call upon the

founder of the Federation, Bishop McFaul of Trenton, N. J., to invest Mr. Anthony Matre with the Papal Decoration." In doing so, Bishop McFaul said: "I am pleased to bestow upon you, through the good wishes of our Holy Father Pius X, the Cross of St. Gregory the Great, entitling you to be forever, I suppose here and hereafter, a Knight of St. Gregory the Great."

Amid great applause Mr. Matre received his Papal honors and was eulogized by Mr. Charles I. Denechaud, president of the Federation, for the recognition of the Holy See gave to Federation, because of Mr. Matre's great work.

At the monster mass meeting on Monday night Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul, Minn., delivered one of the most forceful addresses ever delivered in the United States. The secular papers and Catholic papers give the address the widest publicity. Among other things the Archbishop said: "My religious faith is that of the Catholic Church. . . . My civil and political faith is that of the Republic of the U. S. A. . . . Between my religious faith and my civil political faith it has been said there is discord and contradiction. . . . Those who so speak misunderstood either my creed or my country; they belie either the one or the other. The accord of one with the other is the theme of my address this evening." The Archbishop then explained most lucidly the distinction between the spiritual and temporal allegiance and asserted that Catholicism and Americanism are in complete agreement.

The Tuesday session was preceded by a Pontifical Mass of Requiem at St. Mary's Church of which Archbishop Messmer was the celebrant. The business meeting was presided over by President C. I. Denechaud. Addresses were made by Bishop Koudelka of Superior, Wis., and Rev. Joseph Husslein, S. J., associate editor of *America*. The latter spoke on the persecution of the church in the Republic of Portugal. Mr. Edward Feeney, K. S. G., chairman of the National Committee on Public Morals, made an interesting report and gave a list of anti-Catholic papers now in circulation. Mr. A. V. D. Watterson, chairman of the Law Committee who had been seeking to introduce an amendment to the present laws on scurrilous publications, stated that he could not find a single member in Congress who had the moral courage to offer an amendment to existing laws.

After the reading of letters from the hierarchy from all parts of the world, the Rt. Rev. Joseph F. Busch of Lead, S. Dak., gave an illuminating address on conditions in his section of the country which resulted in the adoption of a resolution of sending a telegram to Mrs. Phoebe A. Hearst, chief stockholder of the Homestake Mining Co., of

Lead, S. Dak., and Mr. J. B. Haggin of New York, president, and Mr. F. J. Guer, superintendent, of Lead, S. Dak., protesting against the abnormal conditions in the city of Lead, which impede the work of religion and have caused the Bishop of Lead to be exiled from his See City.

The following resolutions were, after some spirited discussions, adopted:

Religious Section.—(Rt. Rev. Msgr. M. J. Lavelle, V. G., of New York, chairman; Rt. Rev. Ambrose F. Roche, Watertown, Mass., Secretary.) Loyalty to the Holy Father; Religious Persecution in Portugal; Home and Foreign Missions; Religious Care of Prisoners; the Philippines; Sunday Observance; the Press; Catholic Encyclopedia; Catholic Art; Immoral Literature, Pictures, etc.; Theatres and Theatricals; Juvenile Associations; Catholic Citizenship; World Federation.

Educational Section.—(Rt. Rev. Msgr. P. J. Supple of Boston, Mass., chairman; Rt. Rev. Leslie Kavanaugh of New Orleans, La., secretary.) Catholic System of Education; High Schools; State Support; Catholic Books and Public Libraries; Eugenics; Freedom of Education; Graduation Exercises of Public Schools in Denominational Churches.

Social Service Section.—(Mr. F. W. Immekus of Pittsburgh, Pa., chairman; Mr. David Goldstein of Boston, Mass., secretary.) Encyclicals of Pope Leo XIII and Pope Pius X; Militia of Christ; Juvenile Courts; Laymen's Retreat Movement; White Slave Traffic; Divorce; Colonization; Industrial Education; Central Verein; Bureau of Social Statistics; Protest against vile attacks on the Good Shepherd Convents; Training School for Federation Secretaries.

A great mass meeting at the Milwaukee Auditorium was held on Tuesday night. The principal addresses were given by Hon. Thomas B. Minahan, first president of the A. F. of C. S., and Rev. Dr. Cotter, Vice President of the Catholic Press Association.

At Wednesday's session Very Rev. Francis C. Kelley, president of the Catholic Church Extension Society (now Bishop of Oklahoma) addressed the convention and extended an invitation to attend the Catholic Missionary Congress which is to take place in Boston, Mass., Oct. 19 to 23, 1913. The Congress is to be held under the auspices of the Catholic Church Extension Society.

The committees on "Ways and Means" and on "Thanks" made their reports. The Finance Committee reported total receipts of \$12,240.54 (of which \$4,615.00 were from Life Patrons). The total expenditures, including publication of the Bulletin, were \$9,095.05.

Cash balance, \$3,145.49. The finance report was made by Dr. Felix Gaudin, K. S. G., of New Orleans, La., chairman.

The following officers were elected unanimously : President, Charles I. Denechaud of New Orleans, La. ; Vice Presidents, Thomas P. Flynn, Chicago, Ill. ; J. A. Coller, Shakopee, Minn., Joseph Frey, K. S. G., New York, N. Y. ; J. J. Hynes, Buffalo, N. Y. ; Dr. Peter S. Ganz, Louisville, Ky., and J. M. Callahan, Milwaukee, Wis. ; Secretary, Anthony Matre, K. S. G., St. Louis, Mo. ; Treasurer, F. W. Keckenkamp, Jr., Quincy, Ill. ; Marshall, C. H. Herold, Seneca, Kans. ; Color Bearer, Chief Leo Hawk Man, Rosebud, S. Dak.

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Archbishop Messmer then reported that the representatives of various women's organizations who had met for three days with regard to forming a separate Woman's Federation, had decided to postpone action until the next Federation convention. Archbishop Messmer and Bishop Muldoon were to take matters in charge.

The convention voted to meet in Baltimore, Md., in 1914.

(Signed) ANTHONY MATRE, K. S. G.,

Chicago, Ill.

National Secretary.

BOOK REVIEWS

Pageant of America. New Haven, Yale University Press, 1927. Volume IV: The March of Commerce, by Malcolm Keir. Volume VI: The Winning of Freedom, by William Wood and Ralph Henry Gabriel.

The history and characteristics of American trade from colonial days to 1927 as well as methods of communication used during that period comprise The March of Commerce. A seeming paradox has been achieved: transportation with its practical and "earth, earthy" appeal has been shown up as a topic of much romance: was it not in the search for a new trade route to the Indies that this American continent was discovered?

The principal appeal to Middle Westerners rests in the discussions of river commerce and lake trade in this district. In the matter of river commerce there is noted the attempt of 1923 to revive traffic on the upper Mississippi. Likewise there is noted the query as to whether the attempted revival would succeed: the work was not published late enough to record the formal re-opening at Dubuque, Iowa, in the summer of 1928 of the upper Mississippi, and thus much of the Middle West, for commercial transportation other than "logs and lumber."

Special attention is called to the illustrations on pages 197-202 showing the relationships between American exports and imports: graphs, maps, and charts based on the statistical abstract of the United States and originally prepared for the Pageant of America. In illustrative and other general effects this and Volume 6 resemble previous numbers of the series: facsimiles of documents contemporary with the period treated, and reproductions of other valuable source material with a vividly and popularly written text.

The Winning of Freedom, Volume 6, deals with the military history principally of the eighteenth century, although actually the dates go back to the early seventeenth and ahead to the early nineteenth centuries. Edward Mims, Jr., receives major credit for the preparation of Chapter I, "The Changing Military Art." Background for the entire book is provided by discussing European methods of conducting war. Elementary colonial methods were of course direct adaptations. The subject matter remaining may be grouped under four heads: the French, Indian and Spanish wars; the War of 1812; the Mexican war, and a chapter each to West Point and Annapolis—a logical division of the subject.

Cross references are made to the political events as treated in other volumes. Especially noteworthy are two types of illustration

made for the Pageant of America and used in Volume VI: the maps of individual battles showing a war's progress during a particular year drawn by Gregor Noetzel of the American Geographical Society, and the six colored illustrations of the various types of army uniform used during the respective wars probably the first time in historical literature that such material has been classified and put in this graphic form.

DOROTHY C. KLEESPIES.

Chicago, Ill.

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CONTENTS

SOME UNPUBLISHED LORIAN DOCUMENTS	<i>Matthias M. Hoffman</i> 103
GENERAL JAMES A. WILKINSON AND HIS RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS	<i>Raphael Noteware Hamilton</i> 122
IRISH IMMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA, 1865-1890	<i>Howard Eston Egan</i> 133
GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS	<i>William Stetson Merrill</i> 167
NEWS AND COMMENTS	172
BOOK REVIEWS	183

Knight and Zeuch, *The location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century*; **Roy**, *L'Oeuvre Historique de Pierre-Georges Roy: Bibliographie Analytique*; **Roy**, *L'île D'Orléans*; **Thomas**, *San Carlos—A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787*; **Thomas**, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document*; **Hoffman**, *The Catholic Sponsors of Iowa*; **O'Bourke**, *The Franciscan Missions in Texas*; **Bolton**, *History of the Americas*; **Meehan** (ed.) *The Doctrina Breve*; **O'Brien**, *The Louisiana and Mississippi Martyrs*; **Kalmer**, *Stronger than Death*; *Historical notes on the heroic sacrifices of Catholic priests and religious during the yellow fever epidemic at Memphis in 1873, 1878 and 1879*; **Falerson**, *Mother Adelaide of St. Theresa*; **Rothensteiner**, *Chronicles of an Old Missouri Parish*; *Annals of the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart*; *St. Meinrad's Historical Essays*.

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An Historical Review

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SOME UNPUBLISHED LORIAN DOCUMENTS

The history of the Church of that portion of the Northwest lying immediately west of the Mississippi, its pristine name, Upper Louisiana, has at last begun to unfold itself. Father Rothensteiner's *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* was an initial step in this work, and when the life of Bishop Rosati, now in preparation, leaps into the reality of the printed book, the task of western historical illumination will indeed have made much progress. The recent masterly volumes of the Rev. Dr. Guilday treat, of course, principally of the growth of the Church along the Atlantic seaboard; but the Northwest has an epic practically all its own, with many of its sources, as yet, hardly touched.

The northern part of Bishop Rosati's diocese of St. Louis, "comprising all the western part of the territory commonly called Wisconsin, i. e. all that territory lying between the western bank of the Mississippi and the eastern bank of the Missouri."¹ and north of the state of Missouri, was created into a new diocese on July 28, 1837. This new see of Dubuque comprised what are now the states of Iowa and Minnesota, and the eastern halves of the states of North and South Dakota. The first bishop, Pierre Jeàn Mathias Loras, who was consecrated December 10, 1837, and died February 19, 1858, gave the trend during his life to the ecclesiastical events in that immense territory and left his impress on them for years after his death. In this respect a peculiar fact may be alluded to: the Church of the Northwest whose complexion today by national descent is so preponderantly Teuto-Gaelic, had its foundations laid hardly a century ago by Italo-French pioneers. Joseph Rosati, the distinguished Neapolitan, Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, gentle-born Milanese, Mathias Loras, aristocrat of Lyons, and Joseph

¹ *Conc. Provinc. Balt.*, 1828-1849, 9, 131.

Cretin, son of a bourgeois baker of Montluel—these are the names carved on the respective sides of the cornerstone of the Church of the Northwest.

Under the striking title of *Death Comes for the Archbishop*, Willa Cather has told the story of the son of an old, aristocratic and Catholic family of France, a gentleman of culture, refinement and learning, cut off from civilization, laboring among Indians and semi-savage whites in New Mexico, enduring mental agonies and bodily hardships almost incredible, and finally slipping out of this mundane vale, an exile. It is but the story with another setting and a slightly later date of Mathias Loras; a story dusty with age and dingy in outward aspect to the glance of the casual student, which needs but the romantic pen of another Willa Cather to reveal to the world in a colorful light the epic deeds of a saint of our forests and prairies, whose life melted painfully away under the crude labors and dangerous tasks of his day.

Born at Lyons just as the Revolution in France was rushing to its climax, Loras was but an infant in his mother's arms when she pleaded with the tyrant Couthon for the life of her husband, a wealthy aristocrat and councillor of Lyons. But Loras *père* was in the very first group to be guillotined in the Square des Terreaux, and a few days later the same fate overtook two of his sisters and two brothers, one of the latter being Mayor of St. Cyr. In all, seventeen persons of the Loras family lost their lives for their political and religious convictions. And it is only after understanding this background of Loras, that we can appreciate his viewpoint of things American as well as his heroic work in the forests and on the prairies of his far-flung diocese.

Class-mate and close friend of Jean Baptiste Vianney, later the canonized Curé d'Ars, in his youth, he became after his ordination a professor and then the president of the seminary of L'Argentière. Coming to Mobile, Alabama, in 1829 with Bishop Michael Portier, he acted as pastor of the Cathedral, vicar-general of the diocese and superior of the newly founded Spring Hill College. Although consecrated in Mobile in 1837, he did not arrive in his tiny see-city of Dubuque until April 19, 1839, having spent the intervening months in France seeking priests and funds for his American missions.

Dealing with his work at Mobile and later with his activities as Bishop of Dubuque, there exists a fairly considerable fund

of unpublished material. In the archives of the St. Louis Archdiocese there are extant several letters from him to Bishop Rosati while he was still at Mobile, and a number written after his arrival at Dubuque. By far the largest collection of his letters is found in the archives of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith, whose head-quarters were formerly at Lyons, France, where Loras had influential connections and was widely and favorably known. These letters depict the progress and activities of his vast diocese, sometimes very vividly, year after year up to the time of his death. Several years ago when the Rev. Dr. Edward J. Hickey of Detroit was in France, he was able, but only after numerous difficulties had been overcome, to secure a translation of many of them. As some of Loras's letters appeared in the published *Berichte* of the Leopoldine missionary foundation of the Austrian empire, it is safe to conclude that there are also unpublished Lorian letters to be found in Vienna today. Some unpublished material also exists in the Baltimore Cathedral Archives and at several other points in the United States, as well as in the families of Loras's relatives in France.

In the archives of the Dubuque Archdiocese a great number of letters written to Loras are preserved, and these throw an interesting and important light on the early history of the Church in the Northwest from other angles. As the Bishop, as far as is known, used no letter-book in which to copy his own replies and communications, there are extant, unfortunately, only a few of his own letters, and these rather unimportant, in the Dubuque archives. Practically all of his earlier letters were written in French but in later life he seemed to find English an easier medium of expression. From the beginning he appears to have been a close friend of Bishop Rosati, and a few of his letters to St. Louis, presented here, will prove of interest.

“Mobile, 11 Decembre, 1833.

“Monseigneur,

“Je suis chargé par Mgr. Notre Evêque de vous prier de vouloir bien lui envoyer le plutôt possible, suivant votre promesse, le plan de votre cathedrale, afin de pouvoir construire la sienne sur ce modele. Mais il desirerait qu'un Architecte preparait ce plan & avec toutes les explications dans les plus grands details. Vous voudrez bien lui donner ce qu'il exigera pour ce travail, et tirer ensuite sur Mgr. à la N^{lle}. Orl. par le moyen de Mr. Moni, et il vous satisfera. Comme Mr. desire commencer bientôt, il voudrait que cet architect ne perdit pas un moment. C'est un service important que vous nous rendiez à tous.

“Il en est un autre que j'ose solliciter de votre complaisance. Ce serait de me dire si l'ouvrage que vous prepariez, il y a 2 ou 3 ans, sur les ceremonies a

paru, ou s'il paraîtra bientôt; nous desirons tous vivement le voir afin de nous y conformer et d'être vraiment catholique *Romains*, en tout."

Translation:

"Mobile, December 11th, 1833.

"Your Lordship,

"I am commissioned by his Lordship, our Bishop, to ask you to be so kind as to send him as soon as possible, according to your promise, the plan of your cathedral, in order that he may construct his own on this model. But he would wish that an architect might prepare this plan and with all explanations in the fullest detail. You will kindly give him what he requires for this work, and draw subsequently on his Lordship at New Orleans through the medium of [Rev.] Mr. Moni and he will satisfy you. As his Lordship desires to commence soon, he would prefer to have the architect not lose a moment. 'Tis an important service which you render us all.

"There is another favor which I am making bold to beg from your kindness. This would be to tell me if the work you were preparing 2 or 3 years ago on the ceremonies has appeared, or if it will appear soon; we all keenly wish to see it in order to conform to it and be truly *Roman* Catholic in all things."

Naturally, Loras as pastor of the Mobile cathedral and vicar-general of the diocese, was deeply interested in the erection of the new cathedral and had heard favorably of the recently erected temple at St. Louis; and it seems that Bishop Portier of Mobile had left a great deal in this matter of planning to his vicar-general. Of the book of ceremonies which Bishop Rosati was preparing we shall hear further in another letter.

"Mobile, 18 Septembre, 1834.

"Monseigneur,

"Je suis en vérité bien charmé d'être le commissionnaire de deux Evêques, cela me met dans l'heureuse nécessité de vous écrire. Mgr. Portier m'a dit qu'il avait été débité de \$40 piastres dans son compte courant avec M. Moni, mais qu'il ne lui avait point recommandé de dire aucune messe pour cela. Voici ma commission clairement faite. Maintenant, quand verrons-nous donc votre ouvrage sur les cérémonies? Tout le monde me fait la guerre sur mes méthodes lyonnaises de chanter l'Évangile, etc. Je me justifie sans cesse en disant—que j'attends votre livre. Raillerie à part, quoique pour la plupart des Lyonnais, nous aimons beaucoup le rite romain, mais nous voulons le pur romain, et personne autre que vous ne peut mieux nous le donner.

"Si je n'arrivais pas d'un voyage au nord, de près de trois mois, je ne dis pas que je n'aurais pas cédé à votre amicale invitation. En vérité, Monseigneur, j'aurais eu trop de plaisir de voir votre bel diocèse et votre magnifique cathédrale & les brillants établissements qui vous ont coûté tant de sueurs, et entre autres la Visitation de Kaskaskia, dont couvent nos bonnes Religieuses entendent parler.

"Je n'ai vu Mgr. Bruté que quelques instants à Emmitsburg, mais j'ai pu me convaincre que tout ce qu'on m'avait dit de lui était même au-dessous de la vérité. C'est la science et la vertu, la sainteté personnifiés. Heureux le nouveau

diocèse qu'il est appelé à évangéliser! Veuillez lui rappeler le Souvenir de ce pauvre voyageur, qui l'a distrait un soir pendant le sérieux de la belle retraite des Dames de la Charité. Je plains beaucoup le college de la *montagne*. Toute ma crainte est que l'éloignement de celui qui en était l'âme ne le fasse tomber. Mais enfin il y en a deux autres bien brillans aussi dans cet heureux Diocèse de Baltimore. J'ai vu dans cette ville le digne Archevêque avec qui j'avais étudié le Theologie à Lyon en 1811, sous le digne—Marechal, alors professeur de dogme. Quelle agréable rencontre. J'ai fait connaissance avec Mgr. le Coadjuteur, qui me paraît bien digne de figurer un jour sur le 1er siège des états unis. Qu'ils sont bons en general les 1^{er} pasteurs de cette église naissante! Quel heureux presage pour l'avenir! Les Jesuites m'ont aussi comblé d'honnêtetés. Que vous avez donc bien fait de les accueillir! Il me paraît qu'un Evêque aurait bien tort de vouloir tout faire par lui-meme, et de refuser un pareil secours. J'ai frappé à leur porte à l'age de 18 ans. J'ai toujours eu du regret de n'être pas entré.— Pour nous, nous ne faisons pas des progrès trop rapides. Nous pouvons néanmoins nous féliciter beaucoup de notre nouveau couvent. Le ——— que j'ai amené de Georgetown le rendra bien florissant. Nos congregations ne se forment pas, excepté celle de Montgomery, où il y a une jolie Église, mais fort peu de Catholiques. Le temps de la moisson viendra plus tard. En attendant nous faisons ce qui est en notre pouvoir. Mais ce pauvre Diocèse de N. O. est bien à plaindre! Il y a, dit M. Moni, 3 Evêques au Kentuckey et pas un chez nous. M. Jeanjean a eu peur comme M. Blanc; dans le fait le poste n'est pas flatteur. Je presume que M. Blanc en viendra la. Je le souhaite de tout mon coeur. Cet homme gagne beaucoup à être connu.

“Je termine ma trop longue lettre, mais je vous supplie instamment de m'accorder un memento particulier et personnel. Mes besoins sont immense, et ceux de notre pauvre Diocèse. Agreez aussi l'hommage de la respectueuse consideration avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être

Monsieur,

Votre très humble et très obeissant Serviteur,

M.^{as} LORAS.”

Translation:

“Mobile, September 18, 1834.

“Your Lordship,

“I am in truth charmed indeed to be the commissioner of two Bishops, this told me in the happy necessity of writing you. His Lordship, Bishop Portier, puts me that he had been owed some \$40 dollars in his current account with Mr. Moni but that he had never suggested to him to say a single mass for that. Behold my commission clearly discharged. Now, when are we ever to see your work on the ceremonies? Everybody is making war on me for my Lyonese methods of singing the Gospel, etc. I justify myself incessantly by saying that I await your book. Joking aside, although most of us are from Lyons, we love very much the Roman rite, but we wish the pure Roman, and outside of yourself, no one can give it to us so well.

“If I had not arrived from a journey to the North of almost three months, I'll state that I would have yielded to your friendly invitation. In truth, my Lord, I would have experienced extreme pleasure in seeing your charming diocese, and your magnificent cathedral and the splendid foundations which have cost you

so much trouble, and, among others, the Visitation establishment at Kaskaskia, accounts of which our good Sisters have often heard.

“I saw Monseigneur Bruté but a few moments at Emmitsburg, but I have been able to convince myself that what was told to me was verily an understatement. In him are learning and virtue and sanctity personified. Happy the new diocese that he is called to evangelize! Would you kindly recall to him the remembrance of that poor traveller who distracted him one evening during the solemn exercises of the beautiful retreat given to the Sisters of Charity? I commiserate deeply the college of the *mountain*. My whole fear is that the absence of him who was its soul may cause it to fail. But after all there are also two others very brilliant, in that happy diocese of Baltimore. I saw in that city the worthy Archbishop with whom I had studied Theology in Lyons in 1811, under the worthy—Marechal, then professor of dogma. What a gladsome meeting. I made the acquaintance of his Lordship, the Coadjutor, who appeared to me indeed worthy to cut a figure some day in the first see of the United States. In general how good they are, these first shepherds of this newly-born church! What a happy omen for the future! The Jesuits have also overwhelmed me with kindnesses. How well you have really acted in receiving them! It seems to me that a Bishop would indeed have done wrong to wish to do everything by himself and to decline assistance of this sort. I knocked at their door at the age of 18 years. I have always had some regret for not having entered.—As for us, we are not making too rapid progress. We are able nevertheless to felicitate ourselves warmly on our new convent. The [Ms. ?] which I brought from Georgetown will make it indeed flourishing. Our congregations are not forming, except that of Montgomery, where there is a pretty church, but a decided paucity of Catholics. The time of the harvest will come later. While waiting we do what is in our power. But that poor diocese of N[ew] O[rleans] is indeed to be pitied! There are, states Mr. Moni, 3 Bishops in Kentucky and not one among us. Mr. Jeanjean has been afraid just as Mr. Blanc; and in fact the post is not a flattering one. I presume that Mr. Blanc will finally go there. This I wish with all my heart. This man gains much on being known.

“I conclude my excessively long letter, but I beseech you earnestly to accord me a particular and personal memento. My needs are immense, and so are those of our poor diocese. Receive kindly also the homage of the respectful esteem with which I have the honor to be

Monseigneur,

Your very humble and very obedient servant,

M.^{as} LORAS.”

In this letter Father Loras reveals a broad acquaintance with episcopal affairs and episcopal gentlemen throughout the country. Having returned from a long trip through the North he was unable to accept Bishop Rosati's invitation to attend the consecration of the St. Louis cathedral, which was to take place on October 26, 1834, and the episcopal consecration of Father Simon Bruté in that same cathedral two days later. His mention of the Visitation convent at Kaskaskia referred to the foundation in that pioneer Illinois village which was approved

by Rosati in 1829; the nuns however were later, in 1844, compelled to leave Kaskaskia because of the great flood and settled at St. Louis.

Bishop Bruté was appointed to the new diocese of Vincennes. He had been spiritual director to Mother Seton, foundress of the Sisters of Charity in the United States, to whom reference was made, and for years had been connected with Mt. St. Mary's College, lovingly called the "Mountain" by its alumni and friends. The two brilliant gentlemen of "*cet heureux Diocèse de Baltimore*" whom Loras met were Archbishop James Whitfield (who died a month after this letter was written) and his coadjutor, Samuel Eccleston. According to this letter, Whitfield, although an Englishman, had studied theology with Loras in Lyons, France, in 1811 under Ambrose Marechal, later Archbishop of Baltimore and Whitfield's immediate predecessor.

The three Bishops of "Kentucky" of this year, 1834, were Benedict Joseph Flaget, Bishop of Bardstown, his former coadjutor, J. B. M. David, and his coadjutor at this time, Guy Ignatius Chabrat. Mr. Jeanjean who was "afraid" of the situation at New Orleans, was Father Augustine Jeanjean, who had been selected by Rome to fill the episcopal vacancy there, but declined. Just as Loras predicted, Father Anthony Blanc became Bishop of New Orleans but was not consecrated until November 22, 1835. Mr. Moni spoken of in both letters was pastor of the cathedral of New Orleans.

It is interesting to note in connection with Loras's congratulations to Rosati for having turned over his educational work to the Jesuits, that Loras himself at the age of eighteen had intended to enter the Society of Jesus.

The following excerpt is from a letter of introduction to Bishop Rosati dated May 17, 1835, at Mobile and bears scanning:

"Le porteur de la presente est M. Nicholet, fameux astronome français, dont le nom retentit dans tous les états unis. Nous lui avons donné avec plaisir l'hospitalité. Il l'avait reçue ailleurs de la part des diocès ecclésiastiques auxquels il avait été introduit, et je vous assure que c'est un homme bien poli, bien aimable, et en même tems d'une profonde erudition."

Translation:

"The bearer of this present is M. Nicholet, famous French astronomer, whose name resounds in all the United States. We have given him hospitality with pleasure. He had received it elsewhere on the part of the ecclesiastical dioceses to which he has been introduced, and I assure you that he is a very polished and a very lovable man, and at the same time, a man of deep erudition."

This gentleman was Jean Nicholas Nicollet, known to American posterity more as an illustrious explorer and geologist than as a famous astronomer. He was later engaged by the United States Government. He was able to repay Loras amply for the hospitality shown to him at Mobile. In 1836 he began a great exploration trip to the headwaters of the Mississippi. In the late winter and early spring of 1839, Bishop Loras on his return from Europe, was compelled to wait at St. Louis for a favorable opportunity to take a steamboat up the Mississippi to Dubuque. And here at St. Louis he again encountered Nicollet. The latter proved to be a veritable mine of information for the anxious bishop; he was an authority on the ethnological data of the Indians, and on the topography and natural history of the Northwest, and it was with keen delight that the bishop listened to the learned opinions of the explorer on the magnificent areas of his new diocese which as yet he had never seen.

Indeed, we can gain an idea of how little he knew of the diocese to which he had been appointed from the following letter, fervid and poignant in tone, which he wrote to Bishop Rosati just before his consecration :

"Mobile, 15 Novembre, 1837.

"Mgr. l'Evêque de
St. Louis.

"Monseigneur,

"Ce n'a été qu'après de sérieuses réflexions, et d'instantes prières, et l'avis de Mgr. Portier que j'ai cru devoir accepter l'importante Mission de Dubuque. Aidé de vos sages conseils et de vos St. Souvenirs à l'autel, peut-être serai-je l'instrument de quelque bien dans cette portion du champs du Seigneur si inculte et si Sauvage. Je voulais avant tout me rendre immédiatement au milieu de ce peuple, qui déjà m'est chère, pour voir, examiner ce qu'il y a à faire pour son salut, mais Mgr. Portier pense qu'il vaut mieux aller directement en Europe pour chercher des secours en argent & en sujets. Veuillez donc avoir l'extrême bonté de me transmettre le plutôt possible tous les renseignements dont je puis avoir besoin, et quoique je sois décidé à partir pour la France après Noël, néanmoins je retournerais à mon premier dessein de visiter auparavant Dubuque, si vous croyez que la chose soit nécessaire. Ayez pitié, je vous en conjure, Monseigneur, d'un pauvre Missionnaire, qui a tant besoin de lumières, de force, de secours de tout genre pour une telle entreprise. Je m'estimerai toujours heureux d'avoir avec vous de fréquents rapports de suivre vos sages avis, étant intimement convaincu du besoin extrême que j'en ai.

"Si la distance qui vous sépare de Mobile & la saison rigoureuse dont nous approchons n'y mettrait obstacle, je vous inviterais avec le plus grand empressement à mon sacre, qui doit avoir lieu le 8 décembre, fête patronale de notre

Diocèse. Veuillez au moins m'accorder le puissant secours de vos prières et la continuation de votre bienveillance dont je me tiendrai toujours singulièrement flatté.

“J'ai l'honneur d'être avec le plus profond respect

Monseigneur,

Votre très humble et très dévoué serviteur

M.^{as} LORAS.

Renseignements.

1. Limites du Diocèse.
2. à peu près le nombre des habitans.
3. quel peuple, Irlandais, américains, Français, sauvages.
4. y a-t-il quelqu'autres villages outre Dubuque?
5. Quelle est la qualité du sol?
6. Le climat est-il en raison de la latitude, très froid?
7. Y a-t-il quelques indiens catholiques? parlent-ils l'anglais?
8. à quel distance est Dubuque du Mississippi? Comment y arrive-t-on?
9. combien de prêtres conviendrait-il d'amener d'Europe?
10. Un prêtre allemand serait-il nécessaire?
11. 3 Religieuses de St. Charles pourraient-elles être utiles?
12. Dubuque est-il le meilleur endroit pr le siège?
13. Le pays a-t-il été souvent visité par des Missionnaires? &c, &c, &c.

“P. S. Permettez moi, Monseigneur, de vous conjurer d'envoyer dans cette mission un bon prêtre. Ce sera une consolation bien grande pour moi et je crois la chose nécessaire. J'en aurais toujours une sincère reconnaissance.”

Translation:

“Mobile, November 15, 1837.

“His Lordship, the Bishop of
St. Louis.

“Monseigneur,

“It was only after serious reflection and earnest prayers, and according to the advice of Bishop Portier, that I believed it my duty to accept the important Mission of Dubuque. Aided by your wise counsels and your holy remembrances at the altar, I shall perhaps be the instrument of some good in this portion of the field of the Lord so uncultivated and so savage. I wished before all to place myself in the midst of this people who already are so dear to me, to see and to examine what is to be done for their salvation; but Bishop Portier thinks it is more important to go directly to Europe to seek succor in money and in subjects. Kindly have the extreme goodness to transmit to me as soon as possible all the information of which I may possibly have need, and although I am decided to depart for France after Christmas, nevertheless I would return to my original intention of visiting Dubuque first, if you believe the thing to be necessary. Have pity, I conjure you, Monseigneur, on a poor Missionary who has so much need of light, of strength, of succor of every kind for such an enterprise. I shall always consider myself happy to have frequent communications with you in order to follow your wise advice, being intimately convinced of the extreme need I have of it.

“If the distance which separates you from Mobile and the rigorous season which we approach did not place an obstacle thereto, I would invite you with the

utmost insistence to my consecration which is due to take place on the 8th of December, the patronal feast of our Diocese. Kindly at least accord me the powerful help of your prayers and the continuation of your benevolence, in which I shall always hold myself singularly flattered.

••I have the honor to be with the most profound respect,

My Lord,

Your very humble and very devout servant

M.^{as} LORAS.

Translation :

Information.

1. Limits of the Diocese.
2. The approximate number of inhabitants.
3. What people, Irish, American, French, savages.
4. Is there any other village besides Dubuque?
5. What is the quality of the soil?
6. Is the climate because of the latitude very cold?
7. Are there some Catholic Indians? Do they speak English?
8. At what distance is Dubuque from the Mississippi? How does one reach there?
9. How many priests would it be expedient to bring from Europe?
10. Would a German priest be necessary?
11. Would 3 nuns from St. Charles be useful?
12. Is Dubuque the best place for the see?
13. Has the country often been visited by Missionaries? etc., etc., etc.

“P. S. Permit me, Monseigneur, to conjure you to send to this mission a good priest. This would indeed be a great consolation for me and I believe the necessary thing. I would always be sincerely grateful for this.”

As Loras left for Europe first before coming to Dubuque, it is probable that Bishop Rosati also advised him to follow this course. He was not consecrated on the 8th of December as he had planned, but two days later, on the 10th, in the Cathedral of Mobile.

Some of the questions he addresses to the Bishop of St. Louis, “How far is Dubuque from the Mississippi?” “Do the Indians speak English?” and some others, indicate to us today a lack of information or else a naiveté which in either case would almost be startling. And yet it is highly probable that Bishop Rosati himself could not give an exact answer to a single one of these questions. This new territory was a hitherto surprisingly unknown and neglected wilderness, and it was fortunate for Bishop Loras that he encountered Jean Nicollet a year and a half later and secured so much valuable information from him.

A letter written twenty months later by Bishop Loras at Dubuque to his friend at St. Louis throws a strong light on his energetic missionary activities in his new diocese:

“Du Buque 25 juillet '39

“Monseigneur & tres digne confrère,

“J'ai reçu avec plaisir vos 3 lettres du 14 juin, 16 juin & 8 juillet à mon retour de ma mission parmi les Indiens & les catholiques du Haut Mississippi. Je suis vivement affecté par la perte de notre très vénérable voisin. Nous célébrerons le 16 août un service solennel pour lui. Que Dieu comble son successeur, le vénérable Mr. Dehalandiere, de son divin esprit!

“Mon absence d'un mois a été couronnée d'un grand succès. Plus de 120 communions, 60 confirmations, plus de 80 baptêmes, 26 mariages, 2 nouvelles églises bientôt en construction. Je vais envoyer un petit article au Cath. Adv.

“Nous n'aurions donc personne de St. Louis le 15 août? M. Lutz ne dit rien & vous gardez le silence. Si vous ne le pouvez, il faudra bien faire sans vous. Les eaux sont si basses! aidez nous donc bien de vos prières.

“Mr. Lee est à Galena. Je vous mettrai au courant de tout. Il a prêché ici dimanche assez bien, dit-on. Après le 15 M. Mazzuchelli va evangeliser Davenport et Burlington. Notre église sera fort jolie, mais trop petite. Notre maison sera couverte le 15. Nous avons acheté les 3 grands lots qui étaient entre elle et celui des Soeurs.

Votre tout dévoué Serv. & Ami
† MATHIAS EV. de Du Buque.”

Translation:

“Dubuque, July 25, 1839.

“Monseigneur and very worthy confrere,

“I received with pleasure your 3 letters of June 14, June 16 and July 8 on my return from my mission among the Indians and Catholics of the Upper Mississippi. I am keenly affected by the loss of our very venerable neighbor. We shall celebrate a solemn service for him on August 16. May God fill his successor, the venerable Mr. Dehalandiere, with his divine spirit!

“My absence of a month has been crowned with a great success. More than 120 communions, 60 confirmations, and more than 80 baptisms, 26 marriages, 2 new churches soon under construction. I am going to send a little article to the *Catholic Advocate*.

“We shall not then have anybody from St. Louis for the 15th of August? Mr. Lutz says nothing and you keep silence. If you are unable to come, it will be necessary to carry on without you. The waters are so low! Aid us then earnestly with your prayers.

“Mr. [Father] Lee is at Galena. I shall keep you informed of everything. He preached here on Sunday and pretty well, I am told. After the 15th Father Mazzuchelli is going to evangelize Davenport and Burlington. Our church will be very pretty but too small. Our house will be covered the 15th. We have purchased the 3 large lots which were between it and the Sisters' house.

Your entirely devoted Servant and Friend
† MATHIAS, Bp. of Du Buque.”

Bishop Loras's “venerable neighbor” who had just passed away was the saintly Bishop of Vincennes, Simon Bruté. His successor's name, somewhat misspelled in this letter, was Celestine de la Hailandière.

Loras's mission to the Upper Mississippi which caused his "absence of a month" was an historic and a memorable one. Going by steamboat from Dubuque on June 23, he disembarked at Fort Snelling where the St. Pierre River (now the Minnesota) flows into the Mississippi, and ministered to the Indians and Canadians who gathered at the settlement then known as St. Pierre. "No pen can describe the joy which this apparently lost flock of the Church manifested, when its members saw this bishop in their midst, since up to this time no priest much less a bishop had gone up to them."² He was accompanied by the Abbé Pelamourgues, whom he had brought with him from France. When he returned to Dubuque he transferred to the archives of his little stone cathedral the list of the names of those he baptized, and of the parents and sponsors. There these names have lain for nearly a century, hundreds of miles distant from old St. Pierre and modern St. Paul, apparently unrecognized and forgotten. These records, written by the bishop's own pen, have hitherto been little consulted and only recently published.

"What a picturesque tableau must have struck the eyes of the 'Bishop of Du Buque' on this occasion! There in that open cathedral, whose pillars were the tall trees of the forest primeval, whose vaulted ceiling was the azure sky peeping through the interlacings of the fragrant branches, stood Mathias Loras, in whose veins flowed the blood of the old French aristocracy. . . . Round about him he saw trappers from the far-away West and *bois brûlés* from the Red River dressed in deer skins trimmed with other furs, traders from Prairie du Chien, soldiers from the army post, and women attired in animal skins and home-spuns. Deeper back, in the checkered shadow and sunlight of the forest, peered the Indians. On the first two days of baptism, the Sioux and Chippewa, who had met for a peace parley at Fort Snelling, may have been present; later in all probability the Sioux alone were there, exhibiting the bleeding scalps of many Chippewa, with whom in the interval they had quarreled and fought. With curiosity they gazed at the 'China-sapas'—the black gowns; the middle aged bishop and the youthful *abbé*, in surplice and stole, the one with crucifix and ritual in his hands, and the other with the water and oils of baptism. And perhaps from afar came the barely distinguishable musical rumble of Minnehaha's waters."³

One of those baptized on this occasion, Baptiste Campbell, a Sioux-Scotch half-breed, was twenty-three years later a leader in the bloody Sioux insurrection in Minnesota and was hanged at Mankato on Christmas day, 1862.

² From *Der Wahrheitsfreund* of Cincinnati, September 5, 1839, which contained an article on this visit to "St. Peter's, Iowa."

³ M. M. Hoffman in "New Light on Old St. Peter's and Early St. Paul" in *Minnesota History*, Vol. 8, No. 1. (March, 1927).

It was this visit of Bishop Loras in 1839 that resulted in Father Galtier's arrival the next spring; that resulted in the erection of the chapel of St. Paul, the nucleus of the future city; and that thus resulted in the naming of the capital of Minnesota. The other new church referred to as being soon under construction was the one at Prairie du Chien, started by Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, the distinguished Dominican missionary of Wisconsin, Illinois and Iowa, whom the bishop mentions in his letter. The bishop accompanied by an Indian guide returned from St. Pierre to Dubuque by canoe, a perilous trip indeed through that wilderness. Mr. Lutz was the Reverend Joseph Lutz of St. Louis, who had previously evangelized the Indians around Prairie du Chien. Loras was hoping that he or Bishop Rosati would come to Dubuque to attend the dedication on August 15 of his little cathedral, built by Mazzuchelli. *The Catholic Advocate* was a Catholic weekly published at this time at Bardstown, Kentucky.

The following extract from an unpublished letter written to a friend in France a little more than a year later reveals his continued activity:

"I received last week a letter from a French missionary residing at Green Bay in the Wisconsin, giving me an account of the excursion I charged him with among the savages of the Bute des Morts and of the Rivière des Loups, named Mennomenies. He found there altogether nearly 1500 of them, spoke to them through an interpreter, and found them to be heathens, but well disposed to become Christians, providing I gave them a priest to live with them. He has been so satisfied of their dispositions, that he marked the place where the cross is to be put up and the Church built. He says that with 1500 fr[anc]s. he could do this next spring. But, where are we to find the priest for it? The young men I have brought with me are usefully employed, and there are many vacant places in my immense diocese. We have 9 churches to build in one or 2 years. The Protestants are being converted in crowds. Here a distinguished lawyer with his wife and daughter have entered into the bosom of our church, and many others are preparing to do the same.

"A beautiful college of the Jesuits has just been established in Cincinnati, in the State of Ohio, city of 50,000 souls. It will do a great deal of good. That of St. Louis is in the most flourishing state with 150 boarders and many day-students. Let me find with God's help a good professor and our college of Dubuque will be open next Monday. We have a school for young people in Dubuque entirely Catholic and another one in the country. I am awaiting the steamer to go and give a retreat at Davenport, and bless the new church of . . . and give confirmation at St. Louis."⁴

⁴Unpublished letter of Bishop Loras to the Director of the College of L'Argentière, October 17, 1840.

To show more clearly the immense area over which Bishop Loras presided as the spiritual shepherd, the following outline which he sent to the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons that same year is here presented. It will be seen that the districts of Milwaukee, Chicago and St. Paul (then St. Pierre) were included under his jurisdiction. No bishop had as yet been appointed for Wisconsin, and as for Chicago, Bishop Rosati had asked Bishop Loras to look after the northern part of Illinois as it was so much nearer to Dubuque than to St. Louis.

STATISTICS

Mgr. Mathias Loras, Bp. of Dubuque, Iowa, North America.

Date: 25th Sept. 1840. Surface in sq. leagues: Iowa about 33,000.

Population:	Iowa	Wisconsin	Illinois, portion that is near Galena			
Catholics	3,100	3,600	1,200			
Protestants	1,500	10,000	6,000			
Infidels	25,000	16,000	9,000			
Indians	28,500	11,000				
Baptisms in	Children	Iowa	Adults	Children	Illinois	Adults
12	123		7	75		6
months		Wisconsin, unknown				

Confirmation: 191; Easter communions: Iowa 350, Illinois 250; Wisconsin unknown.

Clergy 11, no native priest. Missions: Iowa 5, Wisconsin 9, Illinois 4.

Churches	Iowa	Wisconsin	Illinois
under construction:	2	2	0
built	2	3	1

To be built in

1841

- 1 in Iowa City, 1 at Little Mackokoti, 1 at St. Pierre, Iowa
- 1 at Ste Croix, Wisconsin
- 1 at Mineral Point, Wisconsin

- In project: 1 at Gratiot Grove do
- 1 South port do
- 1 Freeport, Illinois

in all 8 churches to be built in 1841 or 1842 if possible.

Approximate expenses to build the various churches:

Milwaukee—to complete it	15,000
South port	25,000
Mineral point	5,000
Gratiot Grove	2,500
Chicago, diocese of St. Louis	5,000
Free port	2,500
Prairie du Chien	25,000

Iowa city, capital of Iowa	50,000
Little Makokoti	5,000
St. Pierre	20,000
	<hr/>
	155,000 frs.
Usual expenditures:	
Maintenance of bishopric and cathedral per annum	6,000
Traveling expenses	2,600
Vestments and churches' requirements	5,800
English Catholic books and others	1,900
Charity to poor	1,500
Petty expenses	500
	<hr/>
	18,300 frs.

The following letter is one of the many which he wrote to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, France, recounting the progress of, and pointing out the interesting events in, his diocese. This letter bears date November 30, 1849.

“In 1837 the Provincial Council of Baltimore erected a bishopric on the territory of Iowa. This territory is situated in North America between the 39th and 49th degree of latitude, and is limited on the East by the Mississippi River, and on the West by the Missouri, which are the two largest rivers in the world, the latter being about 1200 leagues in length. This country was almost entirely inhabited by savages, divided into various tribes, the principal and most martial of whom are the Sioux. There were in Dubuque and suburbs only 2 or 3000 Europeans or Americans. In 1830, this territory having been incorporated in the Union of States, the savages of the South were thrust back by the Federal Government beyond the Missouri, on this side of the Rocky Mountains, and the foreign population increased rapidly owing to the emigration. It counts now 200,000 souls.

“During that time, with the help of God and your charitable alms, 1) we have built 15 churches, most of them with a cemetery, a garden and lodging for the missionary. 2) We have established a house for the Sisters of Charity, who bring up 24 young people of rich families, and keep a day-school in Dubuque for 60 children and a few orphans. 3) We have been lucky enough to have from Ireland a community of Trappists, which counts 25 members, and which will soon count 100. They have opened a school, and they will bring down on the mission the most abundant blessings from Heaven by their prayers and angelic life. 4) We have dug the basement of a new cathedral in the center of the city. 5) We are preparing for the erection of a petit seminary, which for a time will serve as a grand seminary, and for the education of young natives for the sanctuary. Already a few of them have begun their ecclesiastical studies. Probably it will be under the management of the community of Marists of Lyons. 6) We have prepared a way for the Sisters of Charity at Madison in the southern part of the State. 7) We have assured to the bishop an annuity of 3000 fr[anc]s for the purchase of a few buildings. 8) We have obtained with great difficulty from the Federal Government the establishment of a mission among the Sioux. It had been committed to the care of the Jesuits, but unfortunately a violent opposition

from Protestants is on the point of ruining our hopes to this effect. We have 18 missionaries who are animated by an excellent spirit, and, what is remarkable, only one of them in 11 years has left the missions, and he to enter the order of Capuchins. It is then quite false that young priests go astray easily in America.

“The immigration from Europe and from the old U. S. into the State of Iowa is such that already this state has been divided into a state and a territory; the latter, comprising the northern part of it, contains the savages and is named Minnesota. Later on there will be a bishop there so that Iowa, limited on the East by the Mississippi, on the West by the Missouri, on the South by the Missouri State, and on the North by the territory of Minnesota, forms a beautiful diocese. There are 6 principal cities, which are in a prosperous state, and besides these a lot of small villages. It is to be noticed that now part of the missionaries are provided for by their congregations, whilst hitherto they were at the charge of the bishop, or rather at yours, Sirs, who have served them from afar. Proportionately to the funds that you will allow us this year, we shall increase the number of our missionaries. But before all we wish to begin the important work of a diocesan seminary. It must be situated at a league and a quarter from Dubuque, in a land of about 150 ‘bicherees,’ on the picturesque slope of a mountain called Mount St. Bernard. This land contains some limpid water sources and probably some lead mines. There is also a nice woods in the vicinity which will belong to the establishment. The chapel and the house are already built; they are distant from one another some 60 ft. to leave place for a stone building. An immense field is already cultivated. The prospects are good. God will bless our efforts and will use us for an enterprise so essential to the success of our mission. Dubuque counts only 5000 inhabitants, 2000 of whom are Catholics; with 1200 in the suburbs, it is sufficient to maintain this new building.

“You will permit me to add that, although it is certain that some Catholics lose their faith in the U. S. (which matter is very often exaggerated), nevertheless the prospect under some respects is very encouraging. The division into 5 ecclesiastical provinces proposed by the Head of the Church, the new bishoprics, the arrival of new and zealous missionaries, the establishment of a great number of religious communities and the arrival of a good many Catholics among the immigrants, and many other favorable circumstances, let us have great hopes for the future of this great and renowned country of the U. S.”

The Sisters of Charity of the B. V. M. (Blessed Virgin Mary) of whom the bishop spoke came from Philadelphia to Dubuque in 1843. The Trappist monks came from the Cistercian community at Mt. Mellary, Ireland, and maintain today their monastery at the original foundation twelve miles south of Dubuque. The plan of bringing over the Marists never approached fruition. The priest who entered the Capuchin order was the Abbé Remigius Petiot to whom for a time had been confided the care of Galena and other Illinois missions. However, the plan of the diocesan seminary was realized. It started in 1850 under the name of Mt. St. Bernard's College and Seminary and Columbia College of Dubuque today is its lineal descendant.

Just a little more than three years before his death, roused by complaints of various natures in France, Bishop Loras penned a rather pointed reply which certainly bears quoting:

. . . "I took the liberty of drawing on you for 900 francs in favor of a young missionary named Louis Decailly. He is to be professor in our grand seminary, which I am pleased to tell you, is going well with 3 good professors and 10 seminarists, a few of them being natives. Other dioceses of the U. S. larger than ours have not that advantage. A few people have said: 'Dubuque is rich.' This is not true. We could be so had we speculated in land and properties in the cities, but thanks to God, we did not do it and will never do so. What has been bought has been employed for religion, for instance 74 churches, 4 convents, etc. If I can make a loan at a low rate I will prepare the way this year for a branch of our monastery of Trappists (which prospers 12 miles from Dubuque), on the shores of the Missouri River, 300 miles from here, so that these excellent monks may extend their good work over the two largest rivers in the world.

"Now kindly let me make a remark. Lyons complains that Dubuque is never mentioned in the *Annales*. But I have often written to Lyons and Paris giving information which, without being of a nature to excite the admiration and enthusiasm of the members of your association, could have interested them; yet nothing has been mentioned. Kindly try to suggest to the editor who receives our letters not to keep silent over them. We have no martyrs of blood in the U. S. but we have many of charity. Mgr. Gartland, Bishop of Savannah, just died like St. Charles in Milan amid dead and dying, a victim of yellow-fever, in his episcopal city. Within a few years 20,000 Catholics have arrived in my diocese. We had to receive them, and as most of them were poor, we had to build for them churches and schools to resist the infernal system of public schools, hospitals (we are preparing a nice one in Dubuque) and many other temporal and spiritual needs, the list of which would be too long. To that end we impose on ourselves personal privations, of which our worthy bishops of France have no idea, viz., in Dubuque I have no horse, no carriage, I visit the sick on foot one or 2 miles from the city; my table is as frugal as was that of St. Augustine and other holy prelates, and sometimes more so. I have just been ill for 4 months with trembling fever, during which I had to travel 200 leagues to plant the faith on the borders of the Missouri River, otherwise Protestantism would have taken hold forever of these countries.

"I stop now, assuring you that all this is in some way equal to the wonderful zeal of the Chinese missionaries."

(The young missionary, Louis Decailly, was a nephew of Bishop Loras, the only relative of the latter's in the diocese. A new branch of the Dubuque Trappist monastery was established but its existence was of short duration. The *Annales* referred to are the Annals of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith of Lyons and Paris, France, which were often translated into German, English and other tongues in contemporary Catholic periodicals.)

Among the letters and manuscripts of Loras's day in the Dubuque archdiocesan archives are several notes written evidently by relatives of the bishop in France probably shortly after his death. One of these refers to Bishop Loras's attitude on the liquor question; he was a strict total abstainer and a bitter foe of the frontier saloons of his day. It is human and touching.

‘Monseigneur Loras avait imposé la tempérance dans son diocèse; le saint prélat entraînant ses villes civilisées et ses peuplades encore sauvages à l'observation de ses préceptes par le rigidité qu'il apportait à les observer lui-même.

‘En 1852, Monseigneur vint en France. C'était pour la dernière fois:—avant son départ de Dubuque ses grand-vicaires lui dirent: ‘Votre Grandeur résistera-t-elle aux instances qu'on lui fera de goûter le produit des vignes plantées par ses ancêtres?’ ‘La parole donnée à Dieu,’ répondit l'Evêque, ‘doit être gardée partout. Je garderai ma parole.’

‘Arrivé dans sa patrie Monseigneur après avoir visité les lieux de son enfance vint passer quelques jours dans les montagnes chez son vénérable frère, l'ainé de cette famille de onze enfants, et qui leur avait servi de père après que la guillotine eut tranché la tête de leur chef.

‘Monsieur Loras aîné donna des fêtes, convia les notables. Monseigneur ne buvait que de l'eau, ce qui contrastait son frère qui ‘pour ces jours la’ avait composé des couplets joyeux. Après avoir inutilement engager son chère Evêque à goûter de ce vin la vieille propriété de Ste Foy, Mr. Loras se leva et dit avec tristesse: ‘Monseigneur me résistera-t-il toujours?’ . . . Puis il sortit.

‘L'instant fut solennel. Le ton qu'avait pris Monsieur Loras avait arrêté l'animation des convives. On gardait le silence lorsqu'on vit revenir Monsieur Loras. Il tenait sur son bras appuyé sur son coeur, une antique bouteille dont la forme et les grises poussières attestaient la vieillesse du contenu.—Monsieur Loras resta debout et s'adressant à Monseigneur, il lui dit d'une voix profondément émue: ‘Mon frère, voici la dernière goutte du vin que notre père a mis en bouteille. Voulez-vous boire à sa mémoire?’—Un frisson passa parmi les convives.—Des larmes jaillirent des yeux du vénérable Evêque qui s'écria: ‘Donnes, donnes, mon frère!’ Et il en mouilla ses lèvres.’

Translation:

‘Monseigneur Loras had imposed the policy of temperance on his diocese, the holy prelate drawing his civilized cities and his still savage tribes to the observance of his precepts by the rigor which he practiced in observing them himself.

‘In 1852 Monseigneur came to France. It was for the last time; before his departure from Dubuque his vicar-generals said to him: ‘will his Lordship resist the entreaties which will be made to him to taste the product of the vines planted by his ancestors?’ ‘The word given to God,’ replied the Bishop, ‘should be kept everywhere. I will keep my word.’

‘Arrived in his fatherland, Monseigneur, after having visited the places of his childhood, went to pass a few days in the hills at the home of his venerable brother, the eldest of that family of eleven children, who had served them as a father after the guillotine had cut off the head of their sire.

“The elder Mr. Loras was holding festivities and had invited the notables. The Monseigneur drank only water, a thing which grieved his brother, who ‘for those festive days’ had composed some joyous songs. After having fruitlessly invited his dear Bishop to taste of this wine of the old property of Ste. Foy [a part of the old Loras estate], Mr. Loras arose and said with sadness: “Will Monseigneur withstand me forever?’ . . . And then he went out.

“The moment was a solemn one. The tone which Mr. Loras had taken, had put a damper on the animation of the guests. Silence was being maintained when Mr. Loras was seen to return. He held upon his arm, resting against his heart, an ancient bottle, whose form and grey dust attested the age of its contents. Mr. Loras remained standing and addressing himself to the Monseigneur said to him in a voice profoundly affected: ‘My brother, here is the last drop of wine which our father bottled. Will you drink to his memory?’—A thrill ran through the guests. Tears gushed from the eyes of the venerable Bishop, who cried out: ‘Give, give it to me, my brother!’ And in it he moistened his lips.’”

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GENERAL JAMES WILKINSON AND HIS RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS

The mysterious characters of history always furnish an attractive study. When they are, moreover, remarkable for a personality which has power to charm even their enemies, an analysis of their nature and principles becomes doubly attractive. General James Wilkinson, in supreme command of the United States Army, outranking his contemporary General Washington for a time in the period shortly after the Revolution, is such a character. For, whether he was riding his weary stallion through the lonely trails of the Mississippi country, drifting down the Ohio with a cargo of tobacco for the Spanish port of Orleans, calling at "Blennerhasset Castle," or taking over the vast Territory of Louisiana as Military Governor, he was always mysterious. As for his power to attract, Humphrey Marshall, a contemporary, who wasted very little love on the General, could not help but show that even he was not invulnerable to the spell of the man. Marshall describes him thus: "A person, not quite tall enough to be elegant, was compensated by its symmetry, and appearance of health and strength. A countenance open and mild, capacious and beaming with intelligence; a gait firm, manly, and facile; manners bland, accommodating and popular; an address easy, polite and gracious; invited approach, gave access, assured attention, cordiality and ease. By these fair forms, he conciliated; by these he captivated. The combined effect was greatly advantageous to the General on first acquaintance; . . ." ¹ Marshall goes on to say that "further intercourse contributed to modify" ² this first impression; but he was convinced that the General was one of the greatest intriguers of the age and a traitor to his country and would seem to wish to connect him with two attempts by Spain and one by both England and France to alienate the Kentucky country from the Continental Congress. ³

How the supreme commander of the American Army could be bickering with the crowned rulers of three foreign states for separating a vast territory from the Republic which had just

¹ Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, vol. 1, p. 165.

² Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, vol. 1, p. 165.

³ *Op. cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 345-347.

won independence at the point of the bayonet, was always a question which teased my curiosity. When a chance remark came to my ears that the man who was doing all this was, moreover, reputed a Catholic,⁴ I resolved to take the first opportunity to investigate the facts of the case and the religious principles of the man.

In his Memoirs Wilkinson announces his advent into this world in the following remarkable paragraph: "If the accidental circumstances of birth can found claim to gratitude, the urbane, loyal, generous, galant state of Maryland, has the right to draw upon my affections without limitation. I was born in Calvert County, and have always gloried in my "*Natale solum.*" The place of my nativity is near the Patuxent river, about three miles from a decayed village, rendered conspicuous by the debarcation of the British detached under the command of Major-General Ross, the eighteenth of August, 1814, which sacked and configrated the national edifices at the city of Washington."⁵ The name of the "decayed village" was Benedict, Maryland. Here James Wilkinson first saw the light of day in the year of our Lord 1757, The words in which he records the event are typical of his verbose style, another element in the accumulation of the mysterious about his name; for one is often compelled to wonder if he did not lose sight of the truth in his statements of facts, by reason of his desire to build a perfect period; and if the ambiguity of his narrative is not due to his desire to mass numerous modifiers which by their various shades of meaning leave the sentence open to various interpretations.

The Memoirs continue to tell us that the boy's early education was in the classics and mathematics under "William Hunter, a graduate of the University of Glasgow," and that at seventeen he withdrew to Philadelphia to study in "the Medical school," where he hoped to acquire enough knowledge to follow in the footsteps of his relative Dr. John Bond, who had given him a start toward the career of "Physic." In 1775 he returned to Maryland, a boy of eighteen, to begin his practice. April 19 of that year heard the shots fired by the rural patriots of Lexington and James made up his mind (his father had died when he

⁴ This was in a conversation with the Rev. Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., who is striving to build up at St. Louis University a library of reliable biography covering the entire field of notable historical characters in the United States who have been Catholics.

⁵ Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 7.

was seven) to join the Continental Army. He says: "I made my novitiate in arms and first shouldered a firelock in Georgetown, Patomack. . . "; but it was at Boston that he became a soldier.⁶ His success in the ranks was aided by the friendship of General Gates and after the defeat of Burgoyne the American commander entrusted young Wilkinson with the official report to be carried to the Continental Congress. Through another of his mysterious failings it took him eighteen days to reach the seat of Government and when he arrived the news was already a week old. It was on this occasion that, when the motion had been made to present the messenger with a sword for his service, Dr. Witherspoon dryly remarked, "better give the lad a pair of spurs."⁷ This was the commencement of a life of military troubles. He became implicated in the Conway cabal and was relieved from active service, not, however, without resistance, for he first challenged both General Gates and Lord Sterling to fight duels that his honor might be vindicated.⁸ We next find him in the little hamlet of Lexington, Kentucky, where he began that life amidst the scenes of the wilderness which was to be so closely bound up with the history of the "people of the Western Waters." Marshall says a land company had been formed: "at the head of the latter was General James Wilkinson, who in February, 1784, made his appearance in Lexington. . . . He had come to settle in the country—to open a store—and to carry on commerce."⁹ The country into which he had come was not at peace. Indians harassed the settlers, and the government could not furnish protection from the small remnant of an army which had been kept under arms at the close of the Revolution. Moreover the mountains formed an almost impregnable barrier between the frontier and the Atlantic states. It was cheaper to send a load of produce down the Ohio and Mississippi to New Orleans and thence by boat to New York than to transport the same over the treacherous roads which led back through the mountain defiles to the east; but the Jay Treaty had overlooked this fact and surrendered the right to navigate the Mississippi. The Kentuckians had reason to wonder what benefits they had derived from their inde-

⁶ Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, vol. I, pp. 11-15.

⁷ Johnson and Brown, *The 20th Century Biographical Dictionary*, Boston, 1904.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

⁹ Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, vol. 1, p. 165.

pendence and a faction arose which advocated complete separation from the seaboard commonwealths. Wilkinson threw his lot in with the separationists and soon had a considerable group of followers among men of prominence as well as among the common people.¹⁰

The year 1787 came, and while Washington, at Philadelphia, was the center of the activities of the Constitutional convention, Wilkinson, on the banks of the Ohio, was the center of far different activities, but such as might have had almost as important an effect on the future destiny of the nation. In the summer of that year we see him launching his first boat-load of tobacco for New Orleans while the shore was thronged with grim frontiersmen, who tossed their squirrel-skin hats in air and fired an enthusiastic volley of musketry as their hero set out to obtain for them what Congress had refused to secure. Wilkinson had promised that he would open the New Orleans market to the "Western Waters Men" or give his life in the attempt.¹¹ The autumn frost painted the leaves crimson along the banks of the Ohio. Snow fell and bleak winter settled over the Blue-Grass country. Round the great open hearths of their cabins the gaunt Kentuckians sat and speculated as to whether it would be worth planting in the Spring. If they got no news from "down river," would not their tobacco rot in the barns before it got to market? February came and with it the first signs of life began to appear. The streams began to gurgle in the hollows, some buds began to break out, wild geese were seen upon their northern trek, and then one day the news went forth that General Wilkinson had returned "from Orleans, in a chariot with four horses and several slaves. And soon it was rumored that he had made a contract with the Spanish Governor, which enabled him to ship tobacco and deposit it in the King's store, at ten dollars per hundred, which none but Spanish subjects could do. In fact that he was a Spanish subject; having taken the necessary oaths of allegiance &c." No wonder there was no dearth of followers for Wilkinson's schemes, when "he forthwith proposed buying tobacco, and let it be known that he had the exclusive privilege at New Orleans, spoke in high terms of the right of navigating the Mississippi and of commercial connection between the two countries—with occasional hints, and

¹⁰ Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, vol. I, pp. 213 *et seq.*

¹¹ Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, vol. I, p. 270.

inuendoes, that nothing was necessary to bring it about but the separation and independence of Kentucky." There was little need to say much "to make the people believe that thy were greatly indebted to General Wilkinson for opening the navigation, which Mr. Jay had wanted to surrender; and for realizing that commerce, which congress would not procure for Kentucky."¹² No wonder men met behind barred doors and a "connection between the Spanish provinces and Kentucky under the protection of His Catholic Majesty" was not considered impossible, was even, "it was hoped, fast approaching maturity."¹³ Marshall, whom we have been quoting calls all this "the scheme of the treachery"; but no doubt it looked much less guilty to the men of those times, who were tillers of the soil, than to one who was making a good living as a lawyer and statesman, while the strongest objection which Judge Muter, Wilkinson's staunch opponent, could find to the scheme was:- "that writing, or advised speaking in favor of erecting government without the authority of the previous act of the legislature for the purpose, should be deemed a high misdemeanour, punishable by fine at the descretion of the court."¹⁴ There was no national constitution, as yet, which deprived the sovereign states of their right to do and think as they willed, and if they had not surrendered this right, why should they not act to the best of their own advantage. No doubt such thoughts had a prominent place in the minds of the schemers. However, let us not rest with surmises but turn to the contemporaneous records to discover the principles on which the leader of the movement, General Wilkinson himself, was acting.

He was bankrupt in 1787, if we can believe "A Kentuckian" who wrote in his defense in 1807.¹⁵ The "Kentuckian," whom Clark asserts to have been Wilkinson himself¹⁶ says: "He at this period considered his hopes jeopardised, and determined to look abroad for what he had not found at home." So there was considerable reason for his interest in finding a market for the tobacco of his friends, and a loan of money with which to buy it, and reimburse his fortune.

¹² All the last quotations about Wilkinson's return are from Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, vol. I, p. 283.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 286.

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 324.

¹⁵ "A Plain Tale Justifying the Character of Gen. Wilkinson," a contemporary pamphlet.

¹⁶ Clark, *Proofs of the corruption of Gen. Wilkinson*.

An utter stranger he landed in the city of New Orleans¹⁷ where, it would seem, he was arrested, for he says: I "was escorted directly to the Government house by a corporal of the guard, stationed at my place of landing."¹⁸ His power to charm on first acquaintance stood him in good part and he was "permitted to take quarters with the family of . . . Dr. Dow."¹⁹ He had soon persuaded Governor Miro of his influential position in Kentucky and then he began his work. In a memorial presented September 5, 1787, he develops the topic of the discontented conditions of the Kentuckians, their thoughts of separation from the Confederation, and even proposes means by which their dissatisfaction can be heightened so that they will turn to Spain for the necessary aid against the mother-country. The memorial closes thus: "Know then, that the leading characters of Kentucky, the place of my residence, impatient under the inconveniences and distress, which they suffer from the restraints on their commerce, urged and entreated my voyage hither, in order to develop if possible the disposition of Spain toward their country, and to discover, if practicable, whether she would be willing to open a negotiation for our admission to her protection as subjects . . ." ²⁰

We have endeavored to look at such activity in the light of the times and offer all excuses; but what follows in this memorial and a subsequent document of 1789, both of which lay hidden away for many years, but have already been translated from the original copies by Miro in the *Archivo Historico-Nacional*, Madrid,²¹ are negotiations which it would seem only the most naive pragmatist could sanction.

Wilkinson tells us in his Memoirs that he had discovered that he was not a good business man. The events surrounding his last shipment must have confirmed the decision that he would make little money from the trade in Kentucky produce; so he suggests another alternative. He says: "I shall take much pleasure in employing all my faculties to compass this desirable event [formal application of Kentucky for allegiance to Spain] *and for such consideration as my services may be*

¹⁷ Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, vol. 2, p. 109.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, l. c.

¹⁹ *Op. cit.*, l. c.

²⁰ *American Historical Review*, vol. 9, p. 501, "Wilkinson and the Spanish Conspiracy" by W. R. Shepherd.

²¹ *Op. cit.*, l. c., vol. 9, p. 490.

deemed to merit."²² His petition for money is much more explicit in the 1789 document. He says: "For my part, I would keep silent, although you have asked me to state my desires if I were not in such critical circumstances; [he then dwells at length on his services to Spain and the danger he is under from detection by the United States Government, and continues] but I flatter myself that the solemn obligations which I owe to my wife and three small children will justify the petition which I now submit to the munificence of his Majesty for some settlement on me that will compensate the actual sacrifices I have made, and safe guard me against any misfortune from the United States." . . . "In case of death the allowance made to me should go to my wife and children."²³

A thing which would seem even more unjustifiable except to a philosophy of rank expediency is the fact that the General, as documents clearly show,²⁴ had applied for citizenship to the Spanish Crown in 1787, and, over his signature, had taken an oath of allegiance to that country, and then, when the machinations of his group failed to separate Kentucky from the union in the convention of 1790, did not hesitate to accept a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel in the United States Army.²⁵ In 1792 this rank was raised to Brigadier General and in 1796 he became Major General, in supreme command of the whole American forces. Thomas Marshall was responsible for the first appointment and said, later, that he did it to keep the General busy about things which would leave no room for conspiracies. But, if we may believe his biographer,²⁶ documents were found in Spain in 1850 which showed Wilkinson's "continuous service to Spain, while simultaneously holding the highest military position in the United States Army," while Daniel Clark, writing in 1809, has for the thesis of his book²⁷ that the General "was a pensioner of Spain from 1794 to 1803," supplying innumerable affidavits and documents, mostly from American sources, in his attempt to substantiate his claim.

The change of front, due to circumstances it would seem, comes in 1807 when the General's defender, "A Kentuckian"

²² *Op. cit.*, I. c., vol. 9, p. 501.

²³ *American Historical Review*, vol. 9, p. 759, "Papers on Wilkinson's Relations with Spain."

²⁴ *Op. cit.*, vol. 9, p. 496 *et seq.*

²⁵ Johnson and Brown (eds.). *The 20th Cent'y Biographical Dictionary*.

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, I. c., (I, e.: s. v. 'Wilkinson').

²⁷ Clark, Daniel, *Proofs of the Corruption of Gen. Wilkinson*.

(who, as is noted above, Clark claims to have been Wilkinson himself) avers that "he has never held a commission nor received a pension from any foreign power. Nor has he ever given test of allegiance but to his own country. He cannot prove a negative, but he has done what he could to purge himself of the slanders of his enemies"²⁸ Again in his Memoirs he condemns in no mistakeable terms those who accuse him of treachery. We read: "It seems impossible that men in the most humble and vulgar walk of life, who had made villany a regular profession, should have entered into such a league against the character and fortune of a military officer, who had served his country with zeal and fidelity, from the dawn of the Revolution . . ." ²⁹

Could Wilkinson have been a Catholic, while acting according to principles so remote from the teachings of the Church? Of course Catholicity is not a guarantee of moral integrity and it is possible that even if General James Wilkinson did have the full knowledge of the Church's condemnation of such actions of duplicity, and was a Catholic, that he might have set such knowledge at naught. However, I think that I can show that he was not a Catholic either at the time of the intrigues of 1787 or later in the turbulent period when his name was linked with that of Aaron Burr. In regard to the latter conspiracy, by the way, a document, unearthed in the Library of Congress, would seem to relieve Wilkinson from most of the more serious charges. This pamphlet is entitled, *Debate in the House of Representatives of the Territory of Orleans on a memorial to Congress respecting the illegal conduct of General Washington, New Orleans, 1807*, and is annotated in the hand writing and with the signature of Gov. W. C. C. Claiborne.³⁰ The "memorial" which it contains accuses Wilkinson of building a fort at that time in the city of New Orleans which was so placed as to awe the citizens and have no effect in repelling a foe. It says that the General drew in all the soldiers from the north and called on the Governor of Mississippi to send him 500 militia in order that the progress of Burr might be unimpeded; and says lastly that by his command the American war ships were scattered up and down the river so that they could be easily taken

²⁸ A Kentuckian, *A Plain Tale*, p. 10.

²⁹ Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 546.

³⁰ Library of Congress, *Political Pamphlets*, vol. 105 JA.36. P6.

one after the other. All of these accusations are labeled "false" and "erroneous" by Claiborne and he ends by saying: "To correct the various errors in this pamphlet and to expose the many falsehoods introduced, it would be necessary to write a book. I am averted to Book writing, but when my leisure permits I believe I shall write the volume." Of course this does not explain the cipher correspondence between Burr and Wilkinson. It does not remove the fact that suspicious visits were made between the two men. However, our mysterious General has an explanation for these, namely the project of a canal around the falls of the Ohio, which he and the ex-Vice-President were contemplating. While this explanation is far from satisfactory, I doubt if anyone has yet proved to demonstration that Wilkinson was still in the conspiracy at the time that Burr began his southern expedition of 1807.

But to answer the question of the General's Catholicity. Marshall gives us a hint that he was not averse to the externals of Catholicism, for in describing the first trip to the Spanish possessions in 1787 we are told: "He [Wilkinson] embarked for Orleans having first assumed some insignia peculiar to the professors of the Roman Catholic religion . . ." ³¹ The General's soliloquies in his *Memoirs* often have a Catholic tone ³² while at times his correspondence with the Spanish Governors tries to end with a clumsy copy of Catholic forms of prayer for the welfare of one's friend. ³³ Moreover the *Memoirs* also contain, it seems to me, conclusive proof that he was not a Catholic as late as their publication in 1816. He says, for instance, when describing his assignment to the army of the north in the war of 1812: "I was aware of the dire responsibility which the public sentiment had created, but felt myself armed against consequences, by the presumptuous conclusion, that if I did not succeed, I could escape the censures of the inconsiderate and malignant by the sacrifice of my life. I was unconscious of the impiety of the reflection, which I deplore and for which I received the chastisement of a just God, who so disposed things as to prevent the one and the other." ³⁴ The comment can

³¹ Marshall, *History of Kentucky*, vol. I, p. 312.

³² Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, vol. I, pp. 7, 15, 58, 542, vol. 2, p. 3.

³³ E. g. in Gayarre, *History of Louisiana*, vol. 3, p. 207, we find: "I take leave of you with the most ardent prayers to the Almighty for your spiritual and temporal welfare . . ."

³⁴ Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 587.

not permit us to interpret this paragraph to mean anything else than that he contemplated suicide if his conduct should be criticised. If he had been practising the Catholic religion for over twenty-five years, since 1787, he would hardly talk thus. But, what further leads me to think that Catholicism had had no influence on the principles of his conduct until after the completion of the Memoirs is the fact that he says in the preface of that work that none of his multitudinous troubles had ever been able to vanquish his spirit, for "the principles of religion instilled in me by a *pious protestant mother*, have *always* been alive in my bosom."³⁵

After 1816 General Wilkinson never was a national figure again. With the Peace of 1815 he was "dropped from the service on the disbandment of the Army and removed to his large estate near the city of Mexico."³⁶ There, perhaps, he did fall under Catholic influences, although I have been unable to gain any definite, conclusive proof of the results. That he turned to the consideration of supernatural things would seem to follow from his reflection upon what he considered to be the persecutions of President Madison. "His persecutions have taught me humility and his attempts to wound my pride and impoverish my old age have furnished me leisure to turn my thoughts to duties too often neglected, and, as far as may be allowed to frail man, to prepare myself for that awful moment, which is to determine my fate for ever more."³⁷

On December 28, 1825, General James Wilkinson died on his Mexican estate, and apparently no detailed account of his last moments has come down to us. We may hope that they were not as "awful" as he anticipated, and that his shortcomings had been repaired for by his years of voluntary exile. After all he was very young and inexperienced when he was first thrown into the center of one of the most critical periods of American history and called upon to play a most prominent role therein.

³⁵ *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 5.

³⁶ Johnson and Brown (eds.), *The 20th Century Biog. Dict.*, s. v. "Wilkinson."

³⁷ Wilkinson, *Memoirs*, vol. I, p. 8.

Mistakes he certainly made, but to these, thank God, the judgment of future generations is wont to be indulgent.*

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* SOURCES:

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IRISH IMMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA, 1865-1890

I

STATISTICS ON IRELAND, AND A SKETCH OF HER NATIONAL HISTORY, 1865-1890

The Free State of Ireland, which is an island about three hundred miles long and one hundred and eighty miles wide, has an area of 32,524 square miles, or approximately twenty million acres.¹ It is the emigration of the principal inhabitants of this country to America, and more particularly their colonization in Minnesota, during the years 1865-1890, which is the subject of this paper.

No other country of its size has given so many of its native race to America, as has Ireland. Due to the fact that they spoke our own language and were in sympathy with our own ideals of liberty and democracy, the immigrants of this country have suffered less in the process of assimilation than many of the other races which have come to America in large numbers.² The magnitude of this movement can be ascertained in some measure if one considers that the emigration from 1837 to 1886 amounted to 84% of the population in the last-named year.³

NOTE: Several books and numerous articles have been written from time to time about the Irish in America in general, and a few studies have been made of the Irish immigration in particular localities. Accounts have been written, to be sure, of the Irish in different sections in Minnesota, but so far as the writer knows no one has ever assembled the available information concerning the progress and development of that race from the beginning of our early territorial and state history. In endeavoring to bring together this immigration material in a connected narrative which must necessarily emphasize the colonization phase of Irish migration to this state, the writer was forced to rely, heavily at times, on the memories of some of the people who were connected with this movement between 1865 and 1890. It would be almost impossible to give a complete list of the many kind people who gave the writer the benefit of their intimate knowledge of, or personal contact with, Irish immigration to Minnesota. Special mention should be made of Mother Seraphine, St. Joseph's Academy, St. Paul; the late J. P. O'Connor, 2057 Selby Ave., St. Paul; Mr. John Hyson, 26 Broad St., Menasha, Wis.; Monsignor Humphrey Moynihan, St. Paul Catholic Seminary; Mr. Michael Leary, 3610 Pine Grove Ave., Chicago; Mr. Walter Sweetman, 984 Ashland Ave., St. Paul, and Hon. P. H. Rahilly, Lake City, Minn.

¹ A. M. Nolan, *A History of Ireland*, 9 (Chicago, 1905).

² *Senate Document*, 662, 61st Congress, 3rd session. Reports of the Immigration Commission. *A Dictionary of Races or Peoples*, p. 79. Presented by W. P. Dillingham, December 5, 1910 (Washington, 1910). Although this passage is not quoted, the words are essentially those of Mr. Dillingham.

³ M. O'Riordan, *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland*, 193 (London and St. Louis, 1906).

Perhaps this tendency towards migration is better illustrated by considering the decrease in the population of the nation between 1841 and 1891. Statistics show that there were 8,175,124 inhabitants in Ireland in 1841; 5,789,564 in 1861; and 4,704,750 in 1891. In other words, the population had decreased from 251 persons per square mile in 1841, to 144 per square mile in 1891.⁴

One must not assume, of course, that the total of this emigration came to the United States; for as will be shown, Canada and Australia also gained their fair share of Irish immigration. Nevertheless, the following statement by O'Riordan seems significant: "Children learn from their childhood that their destiny is America; and as they grow up, the thought is set before them as a thing to hope for—Going to America is to be their way of living. . . . Children are intended for America, as they are for carpenters, laborers, masons, and smiths. These are facts, not fancies."⁵ In the light of this statement we are better able to understand the reason for two-fifths of our total foreign-born population of 2,210,839 in 1850 coming from Ireland. However, by 1890 this proportion had been reduced to one-fifth, and the percentage has decreased consistently until by 1919, Ireland was furnishing less than one-twentieth of our total immigration.⁶

As Desmond has said, if all this immigration had been concentrated in one definite section of the United States as, for example, in the agricultural Northwest, America might have had several states the population of which would be preeminently Irish.⁷ But, undoubtedly due to distance, poverty, and the desire to make immediate economic progress, only one-fourth of the total Irish immigration had found its way to the north-central agricultural states by 1900.⁸ In this connection, in quoting Father Kopp of New York, who wrote on "Immi-

⁴ *The Statesman's Year Book, 1924*, John S. Keltie and M. Epstein, eds., 72 (London, 1924). See also *Ireland Industrial and Agricultural*, W. P. Coyne of the Department of Agriculture and Technical Instruction, compiler, 64 (Dublin, 1902) in which it is shown that whereas the population of Ireland increased about 1,500,000 between 1821 and 1841, it decreased about 3,000,000 between 1841 and 1881.

⁵ O'Riordan, *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland*, 292.

⁶ *Abstracts of the Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 2 Vols., Vol. I, 135 (Washington, 1911).

⁷ H. J. Desmond, *A Century of Irish Immigration*, in *The Catholic Quarterly Review*, Rev. P. J. Ryan, ed., XXV, Jan. to Oct., 1900, 518-519 (Philadelphia, 1900).

⁸ Desmond, *A Century of Irish Immigration*, 519.

gration and the Commissioners of Immigration in 1870," Miss Kate Everest says, "As nearly as calculation can be made, it has been ascertained that out of one hundred continental immigrants, seventy-five go West and twenty-five remain in the cities."⁹

This condition of affairs in 1870, and to a less degree in the decades following, was due largely, as we shall see, to the poverty of most of the Irish immigrants. After landing on our Eastern shores, they lacked not only the capital to bring them west, but also the money with which to buy land and agricultural implements. "To them," says Maguire in *The Irish in America*, "the first and most pressing necessity was employment, and the glittering dollar of the city contrasted favorably with the occasional shilling at home."¹⁰

In view of this statement, which undoubtedly holds true for the average Irish immigrant at any time, one is particularly impressed by the following statistics concerning the agricultural State of Minnesota: according to the census of 1860, with a total population of 172,023, of which 58,728 were foreign-born, the Irish numbered 12,831 as against 18,400 Germans, and 11,603 Norwegians and Swedes.¹¹ Then, out of a population of 439,706 in 1870, 160,697 of which were foreign-born, inhabitants of Irish birth numbered 21,746, as against 41,364 Germans, and 56,924 Norwegians and Swedes.¹² Finally, from the census of 1890, when Minnesota had attained a foreign-born population of 467,356, we find that 28,011 of that number were born in Ireland, 116,955 in Germany, and 201,084 in Norway and Sweden.¹³

⁹ Kate A. Everest, *How Wisconsin Came By Its Large German Element*, in *The Wisconsin Historical Collections*, XII, 311 (Madison, 1892). W. B. Guthrie in writing on *Migration* in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 10, p. 292 (New York, 1911), makes the statement that in 1880 large cities took 45% of all the Irish immigrants. But, in *A Century of Irish Immigration*, 525, Desmond says, "It is a mistake to assume that the Irish are by any large disproportion a city element . . . In a census of 1890, for 30 large cities, the Germans exceeded the Irish in 23."

¹⁰ John P. McGuire, *The Irish in America*, 215 (London, 1868), W. P. Ryan in *The Irish Labour Movement from the Twenties to Our Day*, 127-128 (London and Dublin, 1919) gives an official account of the average wages in several Irish counties in 1861. Where wages were highest, the average weekly wage for men was ten shillings; for women, five shillings; and for children, four shillings, six pence. Where wages were lowest, the average weekly wage for men was four shillings, six pence; and for women two shillings, nine pence.

¹¹ W. W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, II, 64n (St. Paul, 1924).

¹² *A Compendium of the Ninth Census of the U. S., 1870*, Francis Walker, compiler, 376, 396-397 (Washington, 1872).

¹³ *A Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the U. S., 1890*, Robert P. Porter, compiler, Vol. I, Part 2, 600-602 (Washington 1892).

Although the statistics given so far in this chapter provide us with a numerical measure of the magnitude of Irish emigration during the last half of the nineteenth century, mere facts and figures are practically valueless unless one understands the reasons underlying them.

In entering upon a discussion of the complicated Irish questions, it is not my intention to go into the intricacies of the national conditions which impelled migration, but to give sufficient fundamental information to indicate the political and economic chaos which existed with varying degrees of intensity during the years under discussion.

To be sure, the great famine of 1846-1847, and the blight of 1848 and 1849, brought about conditions which were felt for years to come.¹⁴ Perhaps one of the most immediate effects of this sad economic disaster, so far as the native Irishman was concerned, was the introduction of evictions, or "clearances," on a large scale.¹⁵ Between 1837-1850 there were 263,000 families, or 1,841,000 people evicted; between 1861-1870, 70,000 or 329,000 people; and between 1871-1886, 104,000 families, or 728,000 people were evicted.¹⁶ Another consequence of the famine, and one which concerns the student of immigration, was the question of migration which reached such a height that between 1851 and 1861 over 100,000 natives were leaving each year.¹⁷ Finally, a few years after the famine, the tenant farmers of all parts of Ireland united to form a Tenants' League, the object of which was to induce British statesmen to legislate in favor of what was then called the "Three F's,"—fixity of tenure, fair rent, and free sale of their holdings or improvements.¹⁸ However, little improvement in the direction of improved land laws was immediately forthcoming. The annual rents were raised; imperial taxation was increased on a falling population; and Irish misery was at its height.¹⁹

¹⁴ In Laurence Grinnell's *Land and Liberty*, 73 (Dublin, 1908), he says, "In the Great Famine of 1846-7-8 a million and a half of human beings died of starvation and famine fever while corn enough to feed twice the population then in Ireland was grown in and exported out of the country."

¹⁵ "The only response" (to Irish appeals) says Grinnell, p. 74, "was the initiation, in the midst of the famine, of the most cruel and extensive evictions that had been carried out since the clearances of conquest under Cromwell."

¹⁶ O'Riordan, *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland*, 193.

¹⁷ Ernest Barker, *Ireland in the Last Fifty Years, 1886-1918*, 11-12 (Oxford, 1919); Nolan, *A History of Ireland*, 313.

¹⁸ Grinnell, *Land and Liberty*, 75.

¹⁹ See O'Riordan, *Catholicity and Progress in Ireland*, 304-305.

Economic instability and political unrest, therefore, confronted the two able parliamentary leaders who gained particular prominence in England in the late sixties. Since the premiership of the one,—the shrewd, conservative Disraeli, who rose to this position in February, 1868, lasted less than a year, it remained for the new liberal Prime Minister, Gladstone, to approach the perplexing Irish questions.²⁰ Apparently with full recognition of the Irish disturbances which were enhanced by the activities of a revolutionary party, the Fenians, who "held forth the doctrine of armed resistance," the Gladstone ministry strove to bring about a more peaceful and satisfied Ireland.²¹

One of the first things Gladstone did was to disestablish the Protestant church. Since the Irish Catholic had been obliged to pay towards "the annual tithe" of this church for centuries, its disestablishment in 1871 was a particular concession to that vast number of Irish people which had no connection with the Protestant church.²²

Gladstone then began consideration of the complicated land question,—the question which involved the subject of evictions, leases, the raising of rents, and a fair return for improvements made by tenants. By the Land Act of 1870, remuneration was allowed for improvements made by the renter during his tenancy, and eviction was not to be practiced by landlords "without due process of law."²³ Although this act was a step in the right direction, no mention was made of two of the great principles so dear to the hearts of the Irish land-holders,—a fair and just rent, and "fixity of tenure."²⁴

Little of consequence to the Irish happened during the remainder of Gladstone's first Premiership, 1868-1874, except the initiation of the Home Rule movement in May, 1870.²⁵ This

²⁰ Arthur L. Cross, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, 702 (New York, 1924).

²¹ Cross, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, 702-703; Nolan, *A History of Ireland*, 313; Barker, *Ireland in the Last Fifty Years*, 12-13.

²² Nolan, *A History of Ireland*, 317.

²³ Cross, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, 705. Grinnell, in his *Land and Liberty*, 83, says that in defiance of the spirit of the law, the Land Commissioners and their deputies ignored tenant rights, remuneration for improvements, and the general provisions of the law.

²⁴ Cross, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, 705.

²⁵ It should be of interest to note at this point the difference between the Home Rule and the old Fenian, or the later Sinn Fein, parties. The former upheld constitutional action and aspired in its program to "local autonomy," whereas the latter advocated an Irish Republic, and its program, for the most part, was one of force. Barker, *Ireland in the Last Fifty Years*, 14-15.

movement, which was led by Isaac Butt, had for its purpose the formation of a separate Irish Parliament which should have jurisdiction over local affairs. It was this party, under the guidance of Isaac Butt and Charles Stewart Parnell, which endeavored to obstruct Disraeli's program during his leadership from 1875 to 1880. It was during this time, too, (1878-1879) that Ireland suffered from the evil effects of another potato and corn famine. Tenants were evicted, appeals were made for the suspension of rents, land leagues were formed, and "agrarian crimes" were common.²⁶

This unpleasant situation confronted Gladstone when he again became Prime Minister in 1880. Under the extreme circumstances of the time he was obliged to revive the coercion acts, and to send regiments of soldiers to Ireland in 1881. To offset these measures, however, he was instrumental in having passed the Land Act of 1881, the object of which was to establish definite rents, fixity of tenure, and free sale of tenants' interests.²⁷ There was also established, by this act, a land commission composed of three members whose duty it was to value farms, revise the rents, and determine fair and judicial rents which should be in force for fifteen years.²⁸ In addition, provision was made for loaning money to deserving tenants who aspired to the ownership or improvement of their holdings; and finally, "the principle of partnership between the landlord and tenant" was given statutory recognition for the first time. Still agitation continued: the landlords insisted on having the Land Court set rents at an extremely high rate; evictions continued, and "coercion soon became the order of the day."²⁹

In 1885 Lord Salisbury succeeded to Gladstone's position as Prime Minister. Under his guidance money was again advanced by the English government and loaned to Irish farmers who wished to buy their land on small annual payments extending

²⁶ Barker, *Ireland in the Last Fifty Years*, 14; 17-18.

²⁷ Grinnell thinks that Michael Deavitt of Land League fame deserves credit for this Act of 1881, although it fell short of his expectations. See *Land and Liberty*, 76.

²⁸ Again Grinnell, *Ibid.*, 77 and 80, says that if the Land Commission had been appointed impartially, reduction of rents to the extent of 50% would have been possible; but as conditions worked out, the average reduction was only 20%.

²⁹ Cross, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, 713; Barker, *Ireland in the Last Fifty Years*, 53, 14-15; Isaac Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor*, 217-218 (New York, 1922).

over a period of forty-nine years. But Salisbury was forced to resign in 1886, and Gladstone again came into leadership.³⁰

This time Gladstone allied himself with Irish sympathizers for Home Rule, and true to his alignment, he introduced a Home Rule bill in 1886. Although it provided for a legislative assembly which was to meet in Dublin and have control over local affairs, it failed to give satisfaction in that, among other things, it excluded them from the English Parliament. Notwithstanding the fact that the bill did not pass, the Gladstone ministry fell in a few months, and Salisbury returned as Prime Minister in August, 1886.³¹

During the next year, after the Land Act of 1881 had been in operation six years, Parliament found necessary to rebuke the Land Commission by declaring, in an act of 1887, that rents had been fixed for a term of fifteen years under the name of "fair rents," although they were in reality so unfair as to be unpayable. Rents so fixed were demanded reduced, and once more a slight concession was made the Irish land-holders.³² Nevertheless, political and agrarian unrest continued, and at the time of the close of the period under discussion, "Irish leaders, including Parnell, were accused of committing acts of knavery and rebellion."³³

We leave this mere sketch of the important events in Ireland, 1865-1890, with the Irish political leaders still demanding Home Rule, and with "her men of the soil" still striving to better their social and economic status.

II

BEGINNING OF THE IRISH MOVEMENT INTO MINNESOTA. THE CATHOLIC COLONIZATION BUREAU AND ITS ACTIVITIES

In view of the rather turbulent history of Ireland during the years 1865 to 1890, it is not surprising that her native inhabitants came to the United States in the vast numbers already indicated. But to give an authentic, chronological account of the Irish immigration to Minnesota during these years, seems to be an almost insurmountable task. It is not because there is not a certain fascination connected with this movement from

³⁰ Cross, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, 716.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 717, 719.

³² Grinnell, *Land and Liberty*, 81.

³³ Cross, *A History of England and Greater Britain*, 719.

the point of view of the historian and student of immigration, but essentially because we lack much of the source material which would aid us in completing the interesting narrative.

Just which Irish settlers were the first to become established in Minnesota is still a matter of doubt. Whether the majority of the 12,831 Irish-born inhabitants in this state in 1860, or the 21,746 recorded in our 1870 census, came individually, in families, or as constituents of some organized colonization society, we have no means of knowing.¹ That there were Irish individuals and Irish families scattered about in different parts of Minnesota in the early years of our territorial history, we have no doubt. For, in his article on "The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota," Mr. John Sweetman, a philanthropic Irish gentleman of whom a great deal will be said later on, speaks of one Hugh Derham, a farmer living in the vicinity of the present Rosemont, in Dakota County. This man, according to Sweetman, arrived in America from Athboy, County Meath, in 1850. He immediately came to Rosemont, and with the help of the two hundred pounds which he had when he reached his destination, he began farming. At that time he was two hundred miles from a train, and there was not a neighbor for miles on any side of him.²

Then, in his book, *The Irish in America*, John P. Maguire quotes a letter from Dillon J. O'Brien of St. Paul, in which there is mentioned an Irish settlement in 1854 in what is now Sibley County. According to this letter, written in 1867, two men by the name of Doheny, and another by the name of Young, came to Jessen Land on the Minnesota River, some sixty miles west of St. Paul, and endeavored "to combat the obstacles of the unbroken wilderness." By constant application and hard work they were able to make improvements to such a satisfying degree that their land would have been a credit to any state at the time the communication was written.³

No assertion is being made that these men were the first Irish settlers in Minnesota. Still, since their agricultural success was used by O'Brien in 1867 as an illustration of the

¹ Reference has already been made to these figures in Chapter I. See Folwell, *History of Minnesota*, II, 64n; *Compendium of the Ninth Census of the U. S.*, 376; 396-397.

² John Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota: A Memoir*, in *Acts et Dicta*, Vol. III, No. 1, 52-53 (St. Paul, 1911).

³ Maguire, *The Irish in America*, 246. Mr. O'Brien later became Secretary of an Irish Emigrant Society of St. Paul. *Ibid.*, 246.

progress which could be made in this state, it is perhaps safe to conclude that they were among the first successful Irish farmers in the Minnesota Territory.

Mr. William J. Onahan, of whom much will be said in the chapters following, in writing on "Catholic Colonization in Minnesota," gives credit to our first U. S. Senator, Mr. James Shields as being a pioneer in bringing Irish settlers to this State.⁴ Mr. Shields, who had been U. S. Senator from Illinois from 1849 to 1855, when he moved to Minnesota Territory, brought with him several Irish families who settled near Fairbault, in what is now called Shieldsville. "This action of General Shields," says Onahan, "may be said to have powerfully influenced in directing the attention of Irishmen, East and West, to the possible advantages of Minnesota as a place for settling."⁵

Nevertheless, so far as we know, no attempt was made at organized colonization in the West until many years after the period of our territorial history. It was not until 1864, in fact, that we have record of any attempt to colonize the State of Minnesota. On May 12th of that year, under the auspices of Bishop Grace,⁶ there was organized in St. Paul, The Minnesota Irish Emigration Society. Its motives were to encourage and promote Irish immigration to the Northwest, and "to assist by information and advice," those persons who might be anxious to settle in the State of Minnesota. "We believe," stated the official pamphlet of the society, "that our countrymen will be better enabled, in these regions, than in the crowded cities of the East, to preserve unsullied the primitive coloring of their good old Celtic nature, and to obtain homes in lieu of those they have been compelled to flee from. . . . Love of our religion, and love of our native country are the only motives that actuate us. Men of small means can purchase partially improved farms at a fair value, and the poor emigrant has an opportunity to open a farm under the homestead law, which entitles a settler, after

⁴ Wm. J. Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, in *Acta et Dicta*, Vol. V, No. 1, July, 1917, p. 67 (St. Paul, 1917). A complete list of the "Acta et Dicta" publications may be found in the St. Paul Seminary.

⁵ Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, 67; *New International Encyclopedia*, D. C. Gilman, H. T. Peck, and F. M. Colby, eds., *James Shields*, Vol. XV, p. 771 (New York, 1904).

⁶ Bishop Thomas Grace, the second bishop of the Diocese of St. Paul, 1859-1884, was born at Charleston, South Carolina, Nov. 16, 1814. See Francis Schaefer, *A History of the Diocese of St. Paul*, in *Acta et Dicta*, Vol. IV, No. 1, July, 1915, p. 57.

five years, to become owner of the land he has settled on, free of all charges."⁷

"The M. I. E. S. (Minnesota Irish Emigration Society) has not been established for the purpose of inducing emigration from Ireland," the pamphlet continues. "God forbid! its members would as soon rob the mother of her child! But we implore and advise our countrymen at home, when they do emigrate, to come out, where possible, at once, upon the land, and not remain in the crowded cities. The society will always be supplied with information as to the value of lands in different sections of the State. Be it remembered, that we do not invite our countrymen to a wilderness. Young as our state is, Catholic Churches are scattered over it, and our reverend Bishop has promised to our Society a priest for every Irish colony we may be able to found."⁸

The pamphlet was signed by Father John Ireland, President, and Dillon O'Brien, Corresponding Secretary. The other officers of the Society were influential Irish citizens of that time: A. M. Boyle was First Vice-President; I. M. Sheehy, Second Vice-President; A. D. McSweeney, Acting Secretary; and Pat Donevan, Treasurer. The names of twenty-five active members were given, as were those of the nine honorary members, of whom six were priests from Minnesota, and three were prominent laymen: Peter O'Connor of St. Anthony, Ignatius Donnelly of Dakota County, and Hon. Thomas Wilson of Winona.⁹

This Irish Emigration Society was the forerunner of a convention of like purpose but of more comprehensive scope, which met in St. Louis in 1869. This convention of notable Irish-Americans met for the purpose of discussing plans for the establishment of Irish colonies in the West. Edward O'Neil, then Mayor of Milwaukee, was elected President, and Dillon O'Brien¹⁰

⁷ Ignatius Donnelly *Papers*, Oct. to Nov. 20, 1864. This pamphlet of the Minnesota Irish Emigration Society is attached to a letter from Acting Secretary A. D. McSweeney to the great statesman, Donnelly, Oct. 11, 1864. In this letter McSweeney asks Donnelly to become an honorary member of the Society.

⁸ Ignatius Donnelly *Papers*, Oct. 11, 1864.

⁹ Ignatius Donnelly *Papers*, Oct. 11, 1864. No records can be found of tangible results which were attained by this organization, nor do the pioneers remember any of the details of its accomplishments.

¹⁰ Dillon O'Brien was connected with Father Ireland in the capacity of Business Manager, from the time Ireland was stationed at the Cathedral after his release as Chaplain of the Fifth Minnesota Regiment of the Civil War, up to the time of his death on Feb. 12, 1882. This information was obtained, in part, from Judge T. D. O'Brien of St. Paul. See also, Schaefer, *A History of the Diocese of St. Paul*, in *Acta et Dicta* for July, 1915, p. 66.

of St. Paul and W. J. Onahan¹¹ of Chicago, were elected Secretaries. Speeches were made, and a committee was appointed to formulate rules for the execution of Irish colonization projects, but the committee never met, so nothing resulted from this St. Louis meeting.¹²

It was a decade later before another movement started in the interest of Irish colonization, and since the inspiration for this society again came from St. Paul, a detailed discussion of the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota should be of interest.

By way of introduction, it seems only fair to state that the greatest of all Minnesota Irishmen, the Rev. John Ireland, devoted much of his attention to Irish colonization from the day of his consecration at Coadjutor to Bishop Grace on Dec. 21, 1875.¹³ "My brother received his inspiration for this great work, as he did for many of his other big deeds, from Monsignor James Nugent, his intimate friend from Liverpool, England,"¹⁴ says Mother Seraphine, a sister of Bishop Ireland, who is still living in St. Paul.

This great ecclesiastic, known throughout England and many parts of America simply as Father Nugent, was born in Liverpool, March 3, 1822, joined the priesthood in 1850, and died June 27, 1905. He spent his entire life in philanthropic work for the poor and unfortunate of his native city. For twenty years he was chaplain of a prison. He founded four different homes in Liverpool designed to provide a refuge and a means of education for the humblest and most unfortunate boys and girls, men and women. In recognition of his benevolent services, Pope Leo XIII bestowed upon him the title of Monsignor. Then, in appreciation of his services to his native city, the Liverpool inhabitants, irrespective of religious belief, erected a magnificent statue to his memory at Ford Cemetery, outside the city. At

¹¹ During the '80's, Onahan was city collector of Chicago. His stationery bore the caption, Department of Finance, Room 7, City Hall.

¹² Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1917, 69-70. Nothing more can be found concerning this convention. Histories of Wisconsin and Missouri, and of St. Louis, St. Paul, and Milwaukee have been consulted. Even old settlers, who were interested in colonization at that time, are unable to furnish any information concerning this meeting.

¹³ Francis J. Schaefer, St. Paul, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Charles G. Herbermann, et al., eds., XIII, 366-368 (New York, 1912); Schaefer, *A History of the Diocese of St. Paul*, in *Acta et Dicta*, IV, No. 1, July 1915, 67.

¹⁴ This information was secured by conversation with Mother Seraphine, the congenial and lovable sister of Bishop Ireland, who was a resident in Minnesota from the early '50's. Mother Seraphine has retired from active service, and now resides at St. Joseph's Academy, St. Paul.

the base of this great monument there is carved the following inscription: "Pray For Father Nugent, Domestic Prelate of His Holiness the Pope, Father of the Orphan, Refuge of the Outcast, Friend of the Imprisoned, Savior of Fallen Womanhood, and Apostle of Temperance in England and America."¹⁵

Concerning the death of Father Nugent, Bishop Ireland, in a letter to Rev. Father Berry of Liverpool on July 4, 1905, says, "St. Paul was the American home of Monsignor Nugent. He loved St. Paul, and St. Paul loved him. Between Monsignor Nugent and myself there existed for more than a quarter of a century, a deep and tender friendship. . . . The friendship binding Monsignor Nugent and myself brought him frequently to St. Paul, and led him to identify himself in most earnest manner with the works and interests in which I happened to be engaged. . . . Especially in the work of Catholic colonization was Monsignor Nugent my welcomed auxiliary, and today many are the prosperous and happy farmers in Minnesota who came hither at his personal invitation, or through the information given of Minnesota in the columns of the *Catholic Times*."¹⁶

It was on April 10, 1876, only a few months after Father Ireland had assumed his new position as Coadjutor to Bishop Grace, that he was instrumental in having established the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota. This organization was, in reality, a stock company of which Dillon J. O'Brien was Secretary and ostensibly the active Business Manager. Shares of stock in this enterprise were sold to patriotic Irish-Americans, Bishop Grace and Father Ireland giving impetus to the public

¹⁵ Sister Francesca, a niece of Father Nugent, St. Joseph's Academy, St. Paul, has a vast collection of pamphlets and newspaper clippings concerning his life and his work among the poor in Liverpool, and the immigrants in America. This collection contains clippings from the *Liverpool Post*, the *Liverpool Catholic Times*, the *Northwest Chronicle* of Minnesota, and many other publications. Many of the articles, however, do not designate the name of the paper in which they were published.

¹⁶ "The Catholic Times" mentioned, is "The Liverpool Catholic Times," afterwards "The London Catholic Times." Father Nugent started this paper in 1863, and retained the management of it until a few years before his death. The letter just quoted is among the collection of letters, pamphlets, and newspaper clippings in the private collection of Sister Francesca. A more detailed discussion of Father Nugent's participation in Irish colonization will be given in Chapter VI.

by becoming shareholders.¹⁷ Exception is taken to a part of this statement by two of our Minnesota citizens who were intimately connected with the colonization movement,—Mr. J. P. O'Connor,¹⁸ and Mr. Walter Sweetman.¹⁹ "It was a stock company in a way," says Mr. O'Connor, "but little money was paid in. The Bureau acted more in an advisory capacity than as a financial agent. The much needed money was at times not to be had." Then from Mr. Sweetman we get about the same story. Since he did not arrive here until May 7, 1882, he is not informed concerning the initial plans of the colonizing company, but he is certain that money was so scarce that there were times even after 1882 when Bishop Ireland often wondered where he would secure the funds to pay for the services of his business agent.

Nevertheless, the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota, with its headquarters at Sixth and Wabasha Streets, St. Paul, encouraged the early immigrants to report to its officers for advice and instructions concerning the location of choice lands, land values in different districts, and in special cases it gave a little financial assistance, if it was absolutely necessary.²⁰

Since, in devising a plan for Irish colonization, the promoters saw that a large tract of land in some favorable location was necessary, in January, 1876, Bishop Ireland secured his initial tract in Swift County on the main line of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad. This grant from the railroad company consisted of twelve townships, each six miles square, and was land of excellent fertility and topography. Provisions was made for immediate sale

¹⁷ *Colonization and Future Emigration*, in *The Catholic World*, XXV, 688, April 1877-Sept. 1877 (New York, 1877); Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names: Their Origin and Significance*, in *The Minnesota Historical Collections*, XVII, 551 (St. Paul, 1920). In a letter from Dillon O'Brien to W. J. Onahan, Chicago, Mar. 5, 1877, O'Brien asks Onahan to write to his influential friends in Detroit, Buffalo, and New York concerning the Minnesota Bureau, since he (O'Brien) intends to make an advertising trip through the East during the months of April and May. This letter may be found in the collection called "*The Adrian Colony Letters*," at the St. Paul Seminary.

¹⁸ Mr. O'Connor became business agent for Bishop Ireland shortly after the death of Dillon O'Brien, February 12, 1882. He lived for years, prior to his death on March 21, 1925, at 2057 Selby Ave., St. Paul.

¹⁹ Mr. Walter Sweetman, 984 Ashland Ave., St. Paul, came here at the age of nineteen years, on May 7, 1882. He is the cousin of, and was the intimate assistant to John Sweetman of the Sweetman Currie Colony, which will be discussed in Chapter V.

²⁰ *An Invitation to the Land*, a pamphlet issued by The Catholic Colonization Bureau of St. Paul, p. 35, 42 (St. Paul Pioneer Co., 1877). This pamphlet is available in the State Historical Library.

to Irish settlers at a price ranging from \$1.75 to \$3.50 an acre, depending upon the distance of the land from the railroad.²¹

At this point there arise two important, but difficult questions, which should be answered before the narrative is continued. In the first place, by what system did Dr. Ireland secure title to the lands? Secondly, why did he, a Bishop, go to so much trouble in establishing colonies in Minnesota? In other words, what were his motives in colonizing this State?

In general, one should feel safe in saying that there was no one system definitely established for the acquisition and disposal of lands. According to John Sweetman in his article on "The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota," "the system of the Bureau was very simple. It agrees with different Railway companies, who hold vast tracts of land, that certain portions of land be reserved for those who are recommended by the Bureau, thus it can insure having sufficient Catholics in one neighborhood to enable them to have a resident priest and a church."²²

However, according to Mr. Walter Sweetman, the title to all lands remained in the name of the railroad company until final payment was made by the settler. The Bureau stood between the immigrant and the railroad. Since neither Bishop Ireland nor any of the Bureau officials had sufficient capital to buy vast tracts of land, they acted in the capacity of agents. During the early years of colonization, at least, all payments were made to the Bureau or to its representatives, and then the money was turned over to the particular railroad which had received the original patent from the government. In some cases the Bureau made its profit by selling the land at a price just a little above the price demanded by the railroad.²³ According to contracts on file in the Research Department of the Great Northern Railroad Co., Bishop Ireland entered into an agreement with the Railroad Company whereby, in a specific contract in 1880,—a contract embracing 50,000 acres of land, the sale price to the settlers was set at \$4 an acre. The Bureau, through Dr. Ireland, received as its compensation a definite percentage of the established price.²⁴

²¹ *An Invitation to the Land*, 36. The initial colony on this tract was in the vicinity of Randall and DeGraff, in Swift County. Settlement of Kerkhoven, Benson, and Contarf soon followed. *Ibid.*, 35-36.

²² Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota, in Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, p. 47.

²³ This information was secured by conference with Mr. Walter Sweetman. Mr. J. P. O'Connor concurred with Sweetman's contention as given above.

²⁴ This information was secured from records on file in the eleventh floor of the Great Northern Railway building, Fourth and Jackson Streets, St. Paul.

We are fortunate, moreover, in having other records of the manner in which the Bureau participated in the sale of lands to settlers during the late '80's. In a letter from business agent J. P. O'Connor to M. S. Stevens of Grafton, Dakota, Mar. 4, 1889, O'Connor says, "In reply to yours of the 28 ult. to Most Rev. John Ireland, I beg to state, if you desire land to be secured for you, you must make payments to Archbishop Ireland of the amount due, as the matter must be closed up with the Railway company as they receive the patents from the government. Make all remittances direct to Most Rev. John Ireland, St. Paul."²⁵

Then, in a letter from O'Connor to M. J. McDonnell, a land agent in Graceville, Bigstone County, O'Connor says, "Herewith I enclose a list of persons against whom we hold notes as per their contract with the Bureau. Please see those parties. Settlement may be made as follows:

1st. They may pay the amount due on notes with interest and the amount due the railroad company as per their contract, and receive clear title.

2nd. They may pay the amount due the Railroad as per their contract and give mortgages to the Bureau for the amount due it.

3rd. They may pay the amount due the Bureau and as much more as will cover the first payment demanded by the railroad company.

Memo:

The amount due the Bureau is the amount in the enclosed list with interest at 6% per annum.

The amount due the Railroad Company is at the rate of \$4 per acre of land covered by their contract with us. The first payment on the Railroad contract is equal to 10% of the principal and interest in advance for one year at 7%. . . .

The future terms on which land is to be sold is, first payment in full. Second payment \$4.50 to \$5.00 per acre in full and five notes."²⁶

²⁵ This letter appears on p. 82 of the *Diocesan Letters* for 1888-1889. These letters, which are exact impressions of hand written letters from 1887 to about 1913, are in bound volumes, and may be seen at the Catholic Chancery office, Room 8, 244 Dayton Ave., St. Paul.

²⁶ O'Connor to McDonnell, April 1, 1889, in *The Diocesan Letters*, 1888-1889, 109-110. On September, 1889, *Ibid.*, 92, O'Connor writes to McDonnell quoting a price for lands for sale by the Graceville agent at \$6 per acre, \$4 of which had to go to the Railroad Co.

But the manner in which land was acquired and disposed of, in some cases, is well illustrated in a personal letter from Bishop Ireland to R. S. Taylor, an agent in Fargo, Aug. 14, 1889:

"Dear Sir: I hereby appoint you as my agent for the sale of lands controlled by me under my contract with the St. Paul, Mankato, and Manitoba Railroad in towns 126-45, 126-46, and 126-47, all rights acquired heretofore from me by other parties on those lands being reserved. Whatever sum you obtain for those lands over and above \$4 per acre will be divided equally between you and me. The first payment to the railroad company will be advanced by you. This agreement between us will hold until January 1, 1890."²⁷

Now, in answer to the second question, "What were the Bishop's motives in colonizing Minnesota?", one might well begin again by quoting a part of the conversation between John Sweetman and Bishop Ireland on April 23, 1880. "He (Bishop Ireland) explained to me how anxious he had been to induce the Irish who were congregated in large cities of America to take farms in the West where they could get the best of land for next to nothing. He spoke very strongly to me of the danger Irish immigrants ran by remaining in large cities owing to the temptation of drink and vice of every kind. Much better he said that they should starve in Ireland."²⁸

Then, from the Bishop's sister, Mother Seraphine, comes the following statement: "My brother had the interests of Minnesota at heart in colonizing this State. Next to his Church he loved America, and then came his native land. The Bishop had no thought of organizing an Irish State in the West. Had not the State given official encouragement to immigration long years before the Bishop started?"²⁹ And have you not heard of

²⁷ Bishop Ireland to Tyler, in *The Diocesan Letters*, 1889-1890. It must be recognized, of course, that at this late period, with the increased development of Minnesota, and with the increased financial standing of Bishop Ireland and the Minnesota Bureau, far more stringent terms could be demanded of settlers than were possible in 1876.

²⁸ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, 46.

²⁹ Since the primary need of the West was settlers, who would build up towns, develop the transportation system, and cultivate the soil, many different public and private means were employed by the Western States and Territories for attracting immigrants. Our first official encouragement was made by the appointment of an Immigration Commissioner with offices in New York. This appointment was made March 16, 1855. See, Livia Appel and Theodore Blegen, *Official Encouragement of Immigration to Minnesota During the Territorial Period*, in *The Minnesota History Bulletin*, Vol. V, No. 3, August 1923, pp. 167-171.

Cahenslyism,³⁰ and the action my brother took against it? No, he had no thought of doing anything more than helping his Church, his nation, and his people."³¹

Granting that the motives underlying the aspirations of the directors of the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota were largely humanitarian, this great project was nevertheless conducted, for the most part, on a business-like basis. However, each immigrant was allowed as much choice as possible in the location of his new home. Many letters and advertising pamphlets were sent to parishes and individuals, particularly in the East, pointing out the ease with which choice lands could be acquired. In these pamphlets it is shown that, according to the homestead law of that time (1876), the head of a family, or any person over twenty-one years of age, could secure eighty acres of land within ten miles on either side of a land-grant railroad, or one hundred and sixty acres outside of the ten mile limit. The homesteader was obliged to live on his land and cultivate it for five years. The charge for entry was fourteen dollars.³²

Then, according to the timber culture entry of the seventies, it was possible for any person over twenty-one years of age to secure forty to one hundred and sixty acres of land for the same entry charge of fourteen dollars. No settlement was required, but ten acres had to be broken during each of the first two years after entry. In addition, during the second year, ten acres had to be planted to timber. Then twenty acres more had to be broken within three years after entry, and these twenty acres had to be planted to timber within four years. Finally, by making a homestead and a timber-culture entry, a qualified person could secure one-half section of Minnesota land.³³

³⁰ Cahenslyism was the name applied to a plan proposed about 1891 by Herr Cahensly of Germany. He is purported (though on a visit to the United States he disclaimed any such plan) to have proposed the policy of placing all foreign-born immigrants to America under bishops and priests speaking the same language and of the same race. This movement to establish European groups in America was most vigorously opposed by Cardinal Gibbons and Bishop Ireland. *Encyclopedia Americana*, (New York, 1920); *The New International Encyclopedia*, IV, 290 (Dodd, Mead, and Co., New York, 1914).

³¹ Her opinion is identical with those of Dr. Humphrey Moynihan, St. Paul Seminary; Rev. Leo Gleason, St. Thomas College; Mr. Walter Sweetman, and Mr. J. P. O'Connor, St. Paul.

³² *An Invitation to the Land*, 25-26.

³³ *An Invitation to the Land*, 26-27; see also *Worthington Advance*, Feb. 28, 1878, p. 2.

As a special inducement to poor, deserving immigrants, the stock company allowed, in special cases, a grant of eighty acres, on time. Ten acres were to be broken by the company for the settler, and he was given thirty-five dollars worth of lumber for building purposes. No payment was to be made on this grade of land, which sold for about \$2.25 an acre, until after the second crop had been harvested.³⁴

Under such favorable circumstances, and with the inspiration, encouragement, and advertising of the officials of the St. Paul Bureau, many Irish immigrants, as well as scores of Irish-Americans from the East, came to this State early in 1876. In fact, the land office entries between January 1, and June 1, numbered 1317, of which over 800 were for "orderly" citizens of Irish birth.³⁵

Although the first Irish settlers under the auspices of the Catholic Colonization Bureau are thought to have settled around DeGraff and Randall in Swift County, Adrian in Nobles County was plotted in the summer of 1876. As in the case of the Swift County settlements, the colonization of Adrian was not begun until after Bishop Ireland had secured a tract of 70,000 acres of Nobles County land from the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad. After this had been done, and the immigrants had started to acquire lands, many new settlements, inhabited by the incoming Irish and others, arose: Collis in Traverse County; Avoca, Fulda, and Iona in Murray County; Ghent and Minnesota in Lyon County; and Graceville and Barry in Bigstone County. The measure of success which came to these colonies was due largely to Bishop Ireland and his associates.³⁶

Although the early progress, trials, and privations in certain of these colonies will be discussed in detail in later chapters, the news item and editorials of Minnesota newspapers of the period, 1875 to 1880, throw significant light on the movement as a whole.

Concerning the rush of immigrants to Minnesota during the year 1876, the *St. Paul Pioneer-Press and Tribune* expressed particular satisfaction at the future prospects of the State, due to the large number of enterprising immigrants who were com-

³⁴ *An Invitation to the Land*, 46.

³⁵ *Colonization and Future Emigration*, in *The Catholic World*, XXV, 686.

³⁶ *Colonization and Future Emigration*, 686; Schaefer, *A History of the Diocese of St. Paul*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July, 1915, 67; *An Invitation to the Land*, 36.

ing here in increasing numbers. This condition was especially gratifying, according to the editorial, because at that time, when the East and many of the western States were still in a depressed condition due to the effects of the panic of 1873, the many new homes and "shanties" in several Minnesota counties gave every indication of rapid development. In fact, at the Lichfield land office alone, there were during the months of March, April, and May, 932 homestead, pre-emption, and timber-culture entries, comprising over 120,000 acres. Even this excluded the vast areas sold by different railroads.³⁷

Then, to show the quality of the land which was being so eagerly acquired by new settlers, one needs only to quote a letter to the Editor of *The Pioneer-Press and Tribune*, under the date June 21, 1876:

"I have been familiar since childhood with the choice land of the great prairie states of Illinois and Missouri, but I have never seen a district of land more perfect in the state of nature for the hand of man than Western Nobles and Rock Counties."³⁸

But, regardless of this early summer optimism on the part of editors and others, in the *Minneapolis Tribune* of January 15, 1877, we find a communication from Governor Pillsbury telling of the astonishing and pitiful plight of the settlers in the grasshopper ravaged counties of Nobles, Cottonwood, Murray, Jackson, Watonwan, and others. Conditions had been so bad that this was the Governor's second trip to these counties, in each of which he supervised the distribution of supplies and provisions which had been bought for the destitute inhabitants through public donation.³⁹

To offset this contention, as least so far as the Swift County colony was concerned, *The Benson Times*, on Sept. 15, 1877, says, "We mentioned last week the present cheerful prospects of the Swift County Colony. The crops suffered but little from the

³⁷ *Rush of Immigration to Minnesota, 1876*, an editorial in *The St. Paul Pioneer-Press and Tribune*, June 9, 1876, p. 4. In the July 1 edition of the same paper, p. 14, mention is made of immigrants pouring in "along the main line of the St. Paul and Pacific Railroad . . . reminding one of the days of 1855 and 1856."

³⁸ *The St. Paul Pioneer-Press and Tribune*, June 21, 1876, p. 5. This letter bears the signature, W. R. M., St. Paul.

³⁹ Letter from Governor Pillsbury on *Grasshoppers and Starvation*, in *The Minneapolis Tribune*, January 15, 1877, p. 3.

grass-hopper plague. The harvest yield will be abundant. The settlers are hopeful and happy."⁴⁰

But due to the activity of the St. Paul Colonizing Bureau during the fall of 1877 and the year following, the sectional grasshopper plague did not stem the tide of new inhabitants; for, in the *Worthington Advance* of September 6, 1877, mention is made of Bishop Ireland of St. Paul, Father C. J. Venauf, and Father A. Plut, who had come to Nobles County in search of new lands.⁴¹ The object of this trip, according to the editorial, was to select land suitable for an Irish and Hungarian colony. Since the priests seemed particularly pleased with that part of Nobles County around Adrian, it was prophesied that several townships would be secured from the railroad company, and that arrangements would be made for the settling of all available government land in that district.⁴² Then, from the news items of the same paper, we find that the tide of immigration increased during the spring of 1878, when hotels were reported to be filled to capacity every night.⁴³ Special significance was attached to the fact that the demand for land in the vicinity of Adrian became so great that the Bishop was soon forced to obtain an additional 35,000 acres from the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad Company.⁴⁴

By way of conclusion, it is hardly necessary to reiterate that which was depicted so clearly in the newspapers of the times,—that regardless of the trials and privations of these new colonizing ventures, sufficient spiritual, financial, and administrative impetus had been given to them by 1878 to warrant signs of greater progress for the Minnesota of the future.

⁴⁰ *The Swift County Colony*, an editorial in *The Benson Times*, September 15, 1877, p. 1.

⁴¹ *Ireland Selects Adrian*, in *The Worthington Advance*, September 6, 1877, p. 3. The Father C. J. Venauf mentioned here undoubtedly refers to Father C. J. Knauf, who was the spiritual and business leader of Adrian Colony for many years.

⁴² *The Worthington Advance*, September 6, 1877, p. 3. This colony will be discussed in detail in a later chapter.

⁴³ *The Worthington Advance*, Feb. 21, 1878, p. 25. See also March 8, 1878.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, April 11, 1878, p. 2.

III

THE IRISH CATHOLIC COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION. ITS ACTIVITY
IN THE ADRIAN COLONY IN NOBLES COUNTY.

After having served as the patient and untiring promoter of this great Minnesota movement for over three years, it is little wonder that Bishop Ireland was called upon to assist in a new and more comprehensive project, which was to function under the auspices of the Irish Catholic Colonization Association.

Upon receiving the official sanction of Cardinal Gibbons, a meeting of western bishops and influential Irish laymen of the East and West was held in Chicago in 1879. A corporation under the laws of Illinois was formed, and Chicago was selected as its headquarters. The capital stock of the new company was \$100,000.¹ The object of the corporation, according to its letter head, was "To promote, encourage, and assist the settlement of Irish Catholic citizens and Emigrants on the lands in the States and territories of the United States."² A Board of Directors, consisting of nineteen of the most prominent Catholic churchmen of the West, as well as of Irish laymen of influence in social and industrial affairs, was chosen at this meeting in Chicago. Bishop John Spalding of Peoria was named President; Anthony Kelly of Minneapolis, Vice-President; W. J. Onahan of Chicago, Secretary; and W. J. Quan of Chicago, Treasurer. It is interesting to note that the nineteen directors represented four eastern States,—Maryland, New York, Ohio, and Massachusetts, and four western States,—Illinois, Wisconsin, Nebraska, and Minnesota.³

Apparently, stock was sold in all of these States; for we have the original letters written by stockholders from Durand, Wisconsin, Marlboro, Massachusetts, Adrian, Minnesota, and Buffalo, New York, to Secretary Onahan of Chicago a decade or so after the formation of the corporation. The principal purport of these letters was that the shareholders wished to sell

¹ Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1917, p. 70.

² Onahan to John Garrity, Nov. 20, 1882, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

³ The names of the officers and directors appear on some of the stationery used by the company. See W. J. Onahan to John McCoffrey, Oct. 16, 1884, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

their stock at its original par value of \$100 a share, or even at a discount in some cases of which we have record.⁴

Through the efforts of Bishops Ireland of St. Paul, O'Connor of Omaha, and Spalding of Peoria, \$83,000 was subscribed and paid in, and with this amount land was purchased for colonies in Minnesota and Nebraska.⁵

Some discussion, and not a little adverse criticism resulted from the attempt on the part of the western clergy to attract Irish-Americans from the East, and Irish immigrants to the low-priced lands of Minnesota and Nebraska. In a letter which the writer received from Mr. Vincent O'Reilly, Historiographer of the American Irish Historical Society, 132 East 16th Street, New York City, N. Y., Mr. O'Reilly says, "You are no doubt aware that there was considerable opposition from the Eastern clergy to the efforts of the Western clergy and others to colonize Minnesota and other Western States. Unhappily, I can quote no definite written document on this subject, but in conversation with many of the older priests in Massachusetts and New York, I have heard this assertion made time and time again."⁶

Regardless of this antagonism, large tracts of land were purchased in Minnesota soon after the formation of the new colonization association. From the company's official correspondence, we find that colonization was extended to Nebraska, Iowa, Kansas, and Dakota Territory. Since it appears, however, that the movement in other States was patterned largely after that of the Adrian Colony in Nobles County, a detailed account of this settlement should be considered next.

⁴ See letters of P. A. McKenna of Marlboro, Massachusetts, to W. J. Onahan, March 23, 1891; Joseph O'Grady of Adrian, Minnesota, to Onahan, July 8, 1891; Mike O'Leary of Durand, Wisconsin, to Onahan, April 3, 1891; Steve Dillon of Buffalo, New York, to Onahan, July 3, 1890, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

⁵ Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1917, 70. "Bishop Ireland did his full share in raising this money," says Michael Leary, 3610 Pine Grove Ave., Chicago. "I was at the Chicago meeting. I came there from Peoria. I can't just recall anyone except P. H. Rahilly who represented St. Paul, but I know that they dominated the meeting; but why shouldn't they, for they had had colonizing experience?"

In a letter to the writer June 1, 1925, Hon. P. H. Rahilly of Lake City, Minn., mentions being at this meeting, but does not mention any of the details connected with it, except to say, in a general way, that it was a success.

⁶ Vincent O'Reilly to the writer, Dec. 16, 1924. Concerning this opposition, J. P. O'Connor informed the writer that he heard a great deal about it when the colonies were in their formative stage; still, nothing of importance for our purpose resulted from it.

Nobles County was established in 1857, and organized on December 27, 1870, at which time it had a population of 108.⁷ The Village of Adrian, as has been shown was plotted in 1876, following the purchase of 70,000 acres of land by Bishop Ireland.⁸

"The early success of this colony," says Onahan, "was enhanced through the active efforts of a New England priest, Father Bodfish. He secured fifty Catholic families, drawn from Boston and vicinity, for whom he engaged land in advance, 160 acres each. The Association had frame houses built on every farm and thirty acres broken."⁹

In agreement with this statement there is a copy of a form for "Articles of Agreement" between the Irish Catholic Colonization Association of the United States and one Martin Galvin, which was submitted for the approval of the directors of the Association on April 1, 1880.¹⁰ According to these articles of agreement, each 160 acres of land in the Adrian Colony was to be sold at \$5.50 an acre, \$4 of which went to the railroad company. The houses built by the Association were to sell at \$226.50, and \$67.50 was to be charged for the breaking of 30 acres of land, making a total cost to each settler of \$1174.00. Of this amount \$50 was to be paid in cash, 10% of the principal on Jan. 1, 1883,—after harvesting the second crop; 10% on Jan. 1, 1884; 20% on Jan. 1, 1885; 20% on Jan. 1, 1886; and 20% on Jan. 1, 1887. This money was to be paid at the Chicago office, or to a duly authorized agent in Adrian. The interest rate was set at 6%, and was to begin Jan. 1, 1881. Finally, in

⁷ Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, in *The Minnesota Historical Collections*, XVII, 376; *The Compendium of the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*, 419-420. Although the number of inhabitants given in the Compendium is 108, according to my count there were 117 persons recorded in the census of 1870. Of this number 21 were foreign-born, but of the 21, only one was born in Ireland.

⁸ As explained in Chapter II, Bishop Ireland, at least in the early years of colonization, did not buy this land outright, but secured the right to place colonists on it, and acted as an agent between the railroad company and the immigrant.

Rahilly says, "I am certain the Bishop did not have any money. I often told him that if he did not get a decent suit of clothes I would not travel with him. His answer was that he did not have the money. He always gave his money to some one whom he thought needed it more than himself." Rahilly to the writer, June 10, 1925.

⁹ Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, 70-71.

¹⁰ See legal form for "Articles of Agreement," as filled in by Bishop Ireland. This form is to be found in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

case the immigrant defaulted in any of his payments, the title to the land was to revert to the Association.¹¹

In examining the correspondence between the Chicago secretary and his business agent in Adrian during the years 1883, 1884, and 1885, one finds that the price of land ranged from \$6 to \$7.50 an acre. During this time, however, a flat rate of \$215 was charged for each house built by the Association, and \$63 was charged for the breaking of 30 acres.¹²

After all the work concerning the acquisition and breaking of the land, and the building of the houses was well under way, the fifty Massachusettes families came by special train directly to Adrian, early in April, 1880. Credit for the satisfactory care and placement of so large a number of newcomers should be given to Dillon J. O'Brien and Father C. J. Knauf.¹³

Father Knauf, who was the spiritual director and business agent of the Adrian Colony from 1877 to 1893, was a German by nationality; his exemplary habits and excellent judgment caused him to be loved by the Irish colonists. He had come to the St. Paul diocese in 1855, and had been of great assistance to Dr. Ireland in the early colonies promoted by the Irish Catholic Colonization Bureau. Concerning this fine man, who died at Nauvoo, Illinois, in 1907, W. J. Onahan has said, "I have reason for holding his name in benediction."¹⁴

To have complete charge of the religious and business affairs of this fast growing Irish settlement was no small task. The magnitude of the assignment is well brought out in Father Knauf's letters to Secretary Onahan of Chicago. These letters are of importance to the student, moreover, in that they reflect the economic status of this early colonization venture in the south-western part of our State.

The first letter still available bears the date Dec. 10, 1880. In this communication Father Knauf presents the case of Martin

¹¹ "Articles of Agreement" in *The Adrian Colony Letters*. Onahan, in *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, 70, mentions an additional purchase of land in 1879 in and around Adrian, "where Bishop Ireland had already gathered a numerous settlement of Catholics." But this land was undoubtedly bought directly from the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad Company with a part of the \$83,600 which was paid in to the corporation.

¹² See Onahan's memorandum of March 20, 1883; the letter of Father C. J. Knauf to Onahan, Jan. 10, 1884; and Rev. Knauf to Onahan, Sept. 3, 1885, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

¹³ Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, 71; Knauf to Onahan, Dec. 10, 1880, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

¹⁴ Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, 71; Knauf to Onahan, Feb. 25, 1885, in *The Adrian Colony Letters; Worthington Advance*, Sept. 6, 1877, p. 3.

Galvin, a member of the Boston group of fifty families already mentioned. According to Father Knauf, a friend of Galvin's had paid to the Chicago office two years' interest and one year's principal on his 160 acres. In reality, Galvin's farm contained but 158 acres, and through an oversight he had been charged too much. Since the Boston settler was then not only out of money, but badly in need of fuel, the priest made a convincing written appeal to Secretary Onahan for the immediate refund to the Adrian colonist of \$226.63, the total amount of the overcharge.¹⁵

The content of this letter has been given in detail only because it marks the beginning of a series of letters which show the settlers' lack of ability to combat immediately the rigors of prairie life without some form of guidance and financial assistance.

On writing to Onahan on July 21, 1882, however, Father Knauf presented a vastly different view of life in the Adrian Colony. "Our crops, with the exception of corn, so far are excellent, could not look better, and in consequence thereof our settlers feel very good. . . . Flax is the crop on which our settlers rely this year and is promising and favorable. There was not much wheat sown."¹⁶ Then, on September 6, he reiterated his former statement concerning excellent crops, and reported the production of wheat to be as high as 20 bushels to the acre. Under such favorable circumstances, he could see no reason why payments should not be made by the settlers. However, since no land-seekers had visited his colony since June, he was sorry to report to Onahan that he was unable to sell any of the Associations lands.¹⁷

Father Knauf's optimistic reports continued into the next spring when, on May 25, 1883, he wrote to Onahan, "Despite of the cold and rainy weather we have had, our crops look very well, with the exception of corn. Our creamery is in full blast."¹⁸

From the parts of the letters thus far quoted, it seems as if the Adrian colonists were successful in their agricultural en-

¹⁵ Knauf to Onahan, December 10, 1880, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

¹⁶ Knauf to Onahan, July 21, 1882, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Sept. 6, 1882.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, May 25, 1883. For a good description of dairying and stock raising in Bigstone County as early as 1879, see *Graceville* pamphlet, number II, in the Bigstone County Tax Receipt Box, Room 8, St. Paul Catholic Chancery Office, 244 Dayton Ave., St. Paul.

deavors, at least during the years 1881, 1882, and 1883. It is significant, too, from many other letters not mentioned, that the settlers were engaged in dairying and diversified farming rather than the one-crop system for which Minnesota has been noted.

Added to the joys of good crops was the news of the proposed sale of a large tract of land, for in his letter to the Secretary on July 17, 1883, the priest wrote, "Now a great news. An English company has bought 105,000 acres of Railroad land, that it, all the Railroad land in Rock county adjoining us, and in Nobles county all the land in the eight western townships, or better, all around our colonists. Bishop Ireland spent two days with the Syndicate of this English company, to induce them to make Adrian their headquarters, . . . and he thinks he was successful in that, but of course it is not quite sure."¹⁹

There were other occasional causes for joy connected with the spiritual and administrative work of Adrian, for very often the good priest received an encouraging message or a personal visit from one of the high churchmen connected with the colonization movement. On September 9, 1883, he informed the Chicago Secretary of the approaching visit of Bishops Ireland and Spalding. Following that visit, on October 21, the St. Paul ecclesiastic wrote, "Only God can be the true judge of your marvelous accomplishments with our friends, the Colonists of Adrian."²⁰

Regardless of the apparent satisfaction and accomplishments, the letters of the winter of 1883 and the entire year 1884 signify nothing but dissatisfaction on the part of Father Knauf and many of the settlers. The colonists complained because of the inadequate houses which had been built for them, and because of the low price of wheat (63¢ a bushel in November, 1883). They complained also because of the failure of the Association to have the full 30 acres broken for them, and finally, because the little money they secure from the sale of their crops had to be paid to the Colonization Company in order to fulfill their contracts. Father Knauf, on the other hand, insisted on resigning as agent in the spring of 1884, because he believed

¹⁹ Knauf to Onahan, July 27, 1883, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*. No other mention can be found of this proposed purchase.

²⁰ Knauf to Onahan, September 9, 1883; Bishop Ireland to Father Knauf, October 21, 1883, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

that "the settlers were a bad set," and that all he reaped was consistent abuse from everyone.²¹

The year 1885, however, saw Adrian again on its road towards progress and satisfaction, for in the fall of that year the wheat, flax, and corn crops were the best they had been since the colony originated. In fact, the general prospects were so bright that all of the colonists wished to hold their lands, although appreciable profits could have been made if they would have sold to new settlers.²²

Although we lack written chronological information which might throw light upon the general progress of this colony between 1885 and 1890, Mr. J. P. O'Connor, who was Archbishop Ireland's business manager, has offered the following statement:

"Conditions in those years were just about the same as they were in the years previous. One or possibly two seasons of good crops would be followed by a year or two of poor crops due to droughts, cyclones, late springs, or early frosts. In good years the settlers would make payments on their lands and expansion would follow; but in poor years no payments would be made. Many settlers gave up their lands after one or two payments. They would migrate farther west, or go to the industrial centers. It was the way of the colonists."²³

From the few letters now extant, the statements of Mr. O'Connor are fairly well substantiated. Apparently, some time between 1885 and 1890, Fred Mohl, a real estate dealer of Adrian, was induced to become Father Knauf's business assistant. Letters were written to Secretary Onahan by both men, complaining of the poor crops in 1888, 1889, and 1890, and the consequent inability of the settlers to meet their payments.²⁴

Concerning the Adrian Colony as a whole, we should accept the words of Secretary Onahan of the Irish Catholic Colonization Association who wrote the following statement in 1917: "I do not need to dwell much longer on the Adrian Colony. Its affairs were successful in every regard. The settlers who had

²¹ Michael Brown to Onahan, July 19, 1884; Matthew Mulroy to Onahan, September 9, 1884; Knauf to Onahan, November 17, 1883; Knauf to Onahan, April 30, 1884; Pat O'Leary to Onahan, September 9, 1884, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

²² Pat O'Leary to Onahan, Sept. 9, 1884; Knauf to Onahan, August 12, 1885, and September 14, 1885, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

²³ This statement was secured by the writer in a conference with Mr. O'Connor, October 18, 1924.

²⁴ Fred Mohl to Onahan, December 24, 1890; Father Knauf to Onahan, August 12, 1888, and December 15, 1889, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

the sense and good fortune to 'hold on' prospered notably. The farms they acquired at five dollars or less per acre are now valued, I am told, at seventy-five to one hundred dollars. The town of Adrian, which in 1880 was a little struggling prairie village, long since became a prosperous and growing city possessing the advantages of modern metropolitan life."²⁵

IV

OTHER SETTLEMENTS PROMOTED BY THE IRISH CATHOLIC COLONIZATION ASSOCIATION IN MINNESOTA AND IN NEIGHBORING STATES

Although there was a vast amount of hardship and privation experienced during the first decade after the establishment of the Adrian Colony, sufficient progress had been made to attract the Irish of other States to the fertile lands of southern Minnesota.

Perhaps one of the best explanations of the desire on the part of Easterners and others to come West, is to be had from a letter of February 26, 1881, written to Secretary Onahan by Mr. E. L. Fitzpatrick, 23 Park Row, New York, N. Y. After asking for information concerning colonization in Minnesota, Fitzpatrick gives these reasons for wanting to come West: "I desire to settle in the West for my own sake and my family's sake. Employment is scarce here, as the supply of labor is so much in excess of the demand. Again, the youth of this city are surrounded by so many temptations, which at times seem to be almost unavoidable. No matter what precautions may be taken by the parents, and as some of my boys are grown up, I deem it best to take such steps as will place them beyond allurements and vices that exist in larger cities, and enable them to build up good homes for themselves. Many friends try to dissuade me from my intention by depicting the hardships and trials that have to be undergone in settling so far to the West.

²⁵ Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1917, 71-72.

From a total population of 108 in Nobles County in 1870, one of which was born in Ireland, by 1880 the population increased to 3384, of which 173 were born in Ireland. By 1890 the County had a total *foreign-born* population of 2236, 732 of which were Irish-born. See, *Compendium of the Ninth, the Tenth, and the Eleventh Census of the United States*.

Therefore, any information that you would be pleased to give will be thankfully received.”¹

In this letter there were depicted conditions about which Bishop Ireland was so much concerned. As has been stated, his motive in colonization was not to depopulate Ireland, but to give her native sons in the crowded cities of America a chance to be under the immediate supervision of a spiritual advisor in the land of opportunity, which to him meant the West.

Letters written by citizens of another of our great metropolitan centers, Chicago, signify the same desire on the part of several of the Irish to come to Nobles County. At different times during 1882, 1883, and 1884, James Fitzgerald, 530 42nd Street, J. Daley, 848 47th Street, John Conly, and other Chicago residents wrote to Mr. Onahan or to Father Knauf concerning the prices of land and prospects for immediate settlement in Adrian, or in other Minnesota colonies.²

In reply to these letters, Father Knauf made special mention of the fine character of the soil, the close proximity to public schools, and the constantly increasing value of each acre of the Colonization Association's land. "I have a piece of land, $\frac{1}{4}$ section, . . ." he wrote to Fitzgerald, "for sale in the neighborhood of \$6.50 (per acre), house \$215, breaking \$63, which I can sell. One hundred dollars ought to be paid at least for the first installment. Land is raising, and after this spring will not be sold so cheap any more. . . . \$10 per acre is the lowest one can buy of a settler; some ask \$15, \$18, even \$25."³

Many other letters asking for reduced railroad rates, or for an opinion concerning the possibility of future advancement in Minnesota, came from Irish settlers in Adrian, Michigan, Peoria, Illinois, Durand, Wisconsin, and Lakeville, Connecticut, during the years 1883 to 1885. Apparently the advertising and the consistent efforts on the part of the directors of the Irish Catholic Colonization Association were beginning to bear fruit. Tangible results, in the way of more constant payments by the settlers, and a rapidly increasing population throughout all of

¹ E. L. Fitzpatrick to W. J. Onahan, Feb. 26, 1881, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

² James Fitzgerald to W. J. Onahan, March 21, 1883; March 26, 1883, and April 28, 1882; Conly to Onahan, Jan. 24, 1884, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

³ Knauf to Fitzgerald, March 24, 1883, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

Nobles County,⁴ were naturally to be expected. But it was with the expansion of many new communities other than Adrian that the Colonizing Company concerned itself between the years 1880 and 1890.⁵ This fact is shown by the following correspondence:

In a letter to Secretary Onahan on November 13, 1884, James Fitzmaurice of Little Rock, Nobles County, says, "I acknowledge my contract is broke according to its terms. But that was owing to our failure in 1880 and 1881. But however, we are recovering by degrees. I have finished threshing and I shall commence to haul grain as quick as possible. . . . I will do my best with the help of God."⁶

Then from Patrick King, Lismore, Nobles County, the following communication is significant: "I have a farm of colony land, and must write to say that I cannot make payment this year. . . . I worked four year with oxen. I found I was losing my time, could make nothing, was also disappointed with wheat crops. So last spring I got a team of horses on 8 months time, also nearly \$400 worth of machinery. I made \$350 this year on flax, enough to pay for the team. I also paid a little on the machinery. I hope the Association will give me a chance."⁷

This is the general tone of a number of letters written from Ellsworth, Little Rock, Lakeville, and Lismore.⁸ Times were hard and money was scarce. It is not surprising, therefore, that in discussing the Irish settlements Mother Seraphine said, "Only the staunchest and most sturdy remained. Some came for a week, or a month, or a year, but soon gave up the heavily indebted farm lands for attractive city employment."⁹ Or, in the words of Mr. Walter Sweetman, "Times were hard,—very hard, in all of the colonies. Little money was to be had by anyone.

⁴ The increase in the number of Irish-born inhabitants in Nobles County between 1880 and 1890 was 579. See *Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the U. S., 1890*, Vol. I, Part II, Table 3, pp. 642-643, and *The Compendium of the Tenth Census of the U. S., 1880*, Vol. I, Part, I, p. 513.

⁵ Bishop John S. Spalding of Peoria to Onahan, June 24, 1884; Bernard Murray of Adrian, Mich., to same, Feb. 22, 1885; Wm. Conners of Durand, Wis., to Father Knauf, April 24, 1885; Philip Lynch of Lakeville, Conn., to Father Knauf, August 9, 1883, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

⁶ Fitzmaurice to Onahan, November 13, 1884, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Patrick King to Onahan, Dec. 20, 1884.

⁸ John W. Gately of Ellsworth to Onahan, October 19, 1885; C. O. Dailey to same, August 24, 1885; James Fitzmaurice of Little Rock to same, December 19, 1885; Patrick Kaine of Lismore to Onahan, October 12, 1884; H. J. Lynch of Lakeville to same, January 29, 1884, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

⁹ This statement was secured by the writer in a conference with Mother Seraphine, St. Joseph's Academy, St. Paul.

Even the business representatives of the Association in the early years little knew from what source they would next receive the money necessary for their personal maintenance."¹⁰

Regardless of the hardships connected with their colonization project, the officers and promoters of the company put forth every effort to extend their influence into the States of Iowa, Nebraska, and Kansas, and into the Dakota Territory.

One gets a fair view of the Irish immigration to eastern Iowa from a letter written on October 17, 1882, in which is said, "There is a fine farm of the I. C. C. Assoc. with house and about 50 acres in cultivation. . . . It is the S.W.¼ . . . and belonged to a Mr. Conlon who left for Boston last winter, a year ago. . . . It is on the Iowa line about 11 miles from Adrian and 6 miles from Sibley in Iowa, a pretty large trading town in Iowa, on the main road of the Chicago, St. Paul, and Omaha. Sibley is four times as large as Adrian and a good market. It is an entirely Irish Catholic neighborhood."¹¹ Although the colonization letters which have been preserved show Sibley and its vicinity to have been in a stage of prosperous development by 1885,¹² from Rock Rapids, Iowa, there came the following reports during 1883 and 1884,—reports of heavy indebtedness, lack of capital, and poor crops, with the exception of flax.¹³

From the diary of John Sweetman, who came from Ireland to inspect prairie lands in 1880, we get a good account of the dry, unproductive land about 40 miles from Fargo, in Dakota Territory. He tells, too, of the particular interest which was displayed in Irish colonization by Father Faffa, a Swiss priest stationed at Bismark. Finally, from Sweetman's account we learn that Bishop Ireland had recommended for colonization purposes a large tract of land in southern Dakota, some 30 miles from Watertown. Although the land was fair, the country was so dry that Mr. Sweetman was not interested in it as a possible site for a future Irish colony.¹⁴

Still, it was only a little over two years after the Sweetman inspection tour that Secretary Onahan received a detailed report

¹⁰ This statement was secured in a conference with Mr. Walter Sweetman, 984 Ashland Ave., St. Paul.

¹¹ Father Knauf to W. J. Onahan, Oct. 17, 1882, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

¹² *Ibid.*, James K. Shaw to Onahan, Aug. 27 and Nov. 26, 1885.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Andrew Flynn to Onahan, Nov. 2, 1884.

¹⁴ Sweetman, *The Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 56-58.

from a settler in the Dakota Territory, setting forth the merits of the vast tracts of Dakota land, and urging that the Association turn its attention in that direction. Since this letter is rather illuminating, it seems worth while to quote such parts as are of interest: "I should have written you sooner, but I had not then seen as much of this country as I desired before forming an opinion of it. I have just returned from a trip to the unsurveyed lands in the Devils Lake region and what I have seen of it impresses me very favorably. If a man should be here at present and see the splendid prospects of fine yield for all crops that have been planted and then be skeptical in regard to the future of the Territory, he would have to be peculiarly constituted. I am located now about twenty-eight miles from Grand Forks in Grand Forks County. . . . The land is rich with a clay subsoil. . . . I am at present within 8 miles of a Railroad. . . . There is a prospect that I will be nearer when the Railroad is extended, bringing it then to within 3 miles of my place from the contemplated station. There is a great deal of work to be done in opening up a place of this kind, and it is all outgo until after the first crop when the sailing becomes smoother. . . . The talk about it being a one crop country is all moonshine. It will grow anything that can be grown in Illinois with the exception of corn, and fruits. Barley, rye, flax, potatoes, and all vegetables seem to flourish in greater vigor than I have seen in any of the olden States. . . . I have never seen a place where farmers get such quick start as they do here. If they have a little means to begin with the first crop seems to put them on their feet."¹⁵

It does not seem uncommon for settlers to send such embellished appeals to the Irish Catholic Colonization offices, for, on December 8, 1884, R. M. Mooney of Castleton, Reno County, Kansas, wrote to Mr. Onahan, begging him to extend the benefits of the Association to the State of Kansas. "I for one," wrote Mooney, "would be quite willing to dispose of my place and join the organization."¹⁶

From Nebraska, also, there came letters asking Onahan to consider taking up lands in that State.¹⁷ That the Secretary did put forth some effort towards encouraging Nebraska coloniza-

¹⁵ This is an incomplete letter of August 3, 1882, to W. J. Onahan, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Mooney to Onahan, Dec. 8, 1884.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Pat Fowler of Scotia to Onahan, Oct. 12, 1880.

tion may be inferred from a letter to him from Father J. P. Bodfish of Boston, who, on October 6, 1880, wrote, "If you will send me some documents, pamphlets, etc., about the Nebraska colony, I will do what I can to aid you."¹⁸ Then, in his "Chapter on Catholic Colonization," Onahan says that the \$83,600 which was paid in shortly after the formation of the Colonization Association in 1879 was used to buy lands in Minnesota and Nebraska.¹⁹ Moreover, we have records which show that some land was acquired and some settlers were placed, for, during 1884 and 1885, T. P. Lanigan, President of the Farmers and Merchants Bank of Scotia, sent to the Chicago office an itemized statement of amounts collected from Irish colonists residing on land held under contract from the Colonization Company.²⁰ We know, too, from the letters of that time, that Onahan went to Nebraska in 1888 and again in 1891, with view to increasing the activities of the Association in that State.²¹

No attempt has been made to go into the details of the operations of the Irish Catholic Colonization Association outside of its work in the Adrian Colony. An effort has been made, however, to show that this great corporation, under the business management of W. J. Onahan, and the enthusiastic guidance and inspiration of Bishop Ireland and other prominent churchmen, extended its power and influence not only into several communities in southern Minnesota, but also into Dakota Territory, Nebraska, Kansas, and Iowa.

So far as Minnesota was concerned, the work of the Association was well advanced by 1890. Conditions among the settlers were not prosperous, to be sure, but those who had the industry and will-power to remain on colonization lands were soon able to reap the profits of continued ownership, or the profits arising from unearned increment for those who wished in time to sell their land and move on, or go to the cities.

Before concluding this chapter, it should be pointed out that it was the fine spirit of cooperation existing between the Irish Catholic Colonization Association and the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota which made possible the realization of

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Father Bodfish to Onahan, Oct. 6, 1880.

¹⁹ Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, 70.

²⁰ Bank Memorandum, Farmers and Merchants Bank of Scotia, Nebraska. In account with W. J. Onahan, Mar. 16, 1884, and Dec. 31, 1885, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Fred Mohl of Adrian to Onahan, July 18, 1891; Father Knauf to same, Sept. 19, 1891; Fred Mohl to same, Feb. 12, 1888.

their original motives. The most important of these was the building up of the West by allowing the Catholics of our crowded Eastern cities, as well as the downtrodden immigrants, a chance to make good under the guidance and competent spiritual and business advisors. In his capacity as executive head of the Minnesota Bureau, and one of the most active directors of the Illinois Colonizing Company, the beneficiaries of the movement will be forever indebted to Bishop Ireland for his industry and his enthusiasm.

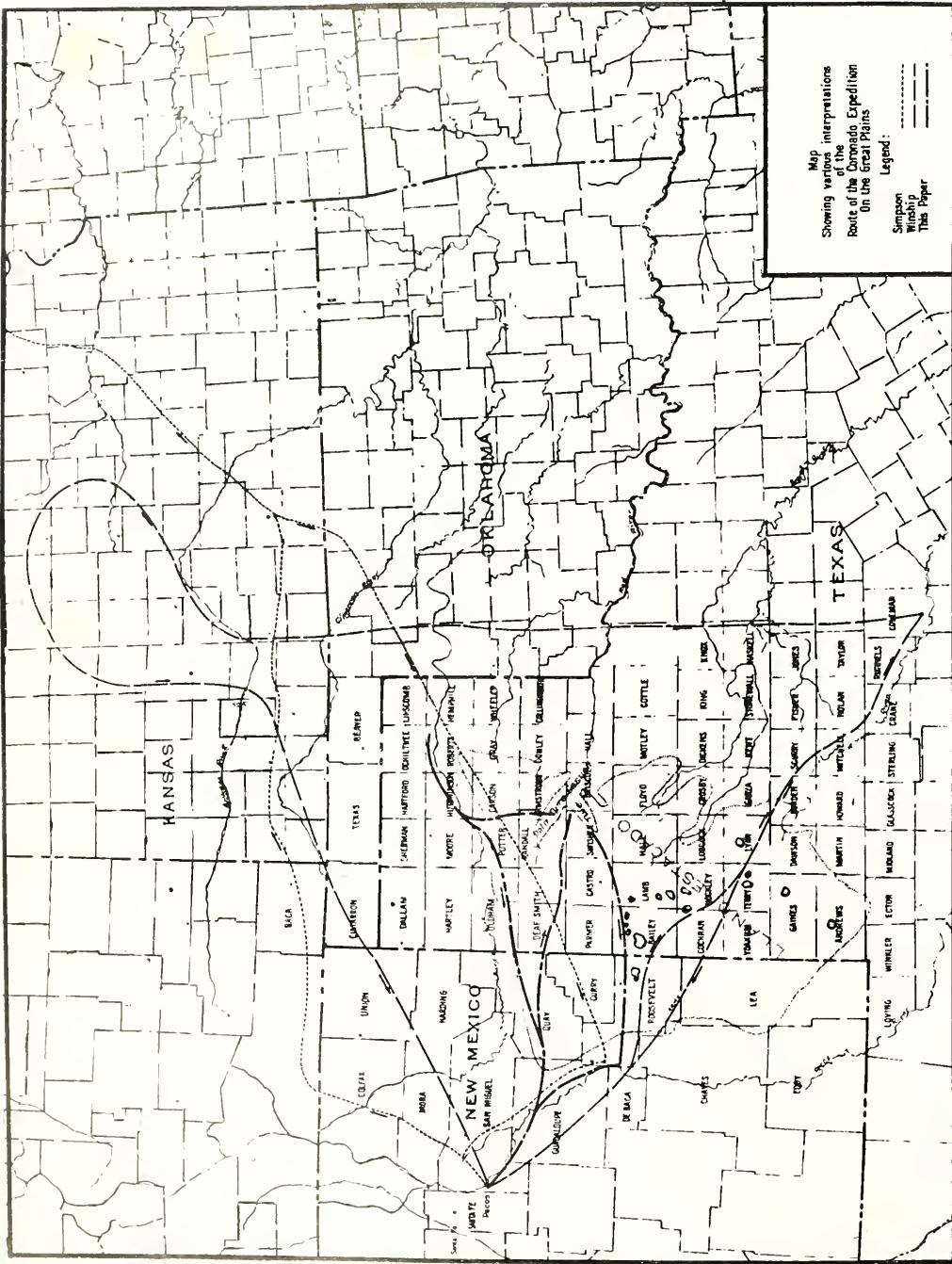
"Our plans had to be changed from time to time," said Mr. J. P. O'Connor. "We learned largely by a process of trial and error. Minnesota colonization had its merits and its serious defects, but we soon found that the man who had no financial outlay of his own made little progress in the strenuous life on the prairies. However, the Right Rev. Archbishop achieved his double motive,—that of helping his Church and helping his country, by building up one of its greatest States. His name and his fame will live forever."²²

HOWARD ESTON EGAN, Ph. D.

Loyola University
Chicago

(Dr. Egan's article will be concluded in the January issue)

²² This statement was secured in an interview with Mr. P. J. O'Connor, 2057 Selby Ave., St. Paul.



Map interpretations
 Showing various
 Route of the Commodo Expedition
 On the Great Plains

Legend:
 Simpson
 Winship
 This Paper

KANSAS

OKLAHOMA

TEXAS

NEW MEXICO

BIGA

REARIP

TEXAS

SUTEMAN

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GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS

Where Was Quivira?—The exact route of Coronado's expedition in search of the "Seven Cities of Cibola" and of "Quivira," especially its route after leaving the vicinity of Santa Fé, has long exercised historians, who have plotted widely divergent lines of march. An article written by David Donoghue of Fort Worth, Texas, appearing in the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, January, 1929, presents a somewhat radical reconstruction of Coronado's march, supported by noteworthy arguments, and accompanied by a map on which the routes traced by J. H. Simpson in 1869, and by G. P. Winship in 1896 are compared with Mr. Donoghue's own tracing of the line of march. By Mr. Donoghue's kind permission this illuminating map is here reproduced.

The original narratives on which identifications must be based are summarized as follows: "In May, 1541, Coronado's army, with '1000 horses and 500 of our cows and more than 5000 rams and ewes and more than 1500 friendly Indians and servants' left Cicuye"—which Mr. Donoghue identifies with the pueblo of Pecos, the ruins of which are about 25 miles east of Santa Fé—"with a treacherous Indian guide known as the Turk. After a three or four days' march a bridge was built across the Rio Cicuye (the Pecos). The march continued to the plains, passing a village of Querechas, and in about 35 days the army reached a 'ravine like those of Colima.' Here Coronado with 30 horsemen (and 6 men on foot?) left for Quivira and the army returned to the Rio Cicuye. Coronado went north or northeast from the ravines, keeping on the plains, and on Saint Peter and Paul's day reached the river 'below Quivira,' crossed and went up the north bank to Quivira. Coronado returned by way of the river crossing where he left the road by which he had come, and took the 'right hand' back to the Querecho village and into Cicuye."

"I shall undertake to show," writes Mr. Donoghue, "that the routes proposed by previous historians are clearly impossible . . . that the expedition never left the Llano Estacado, and that Quivira was within the present limits of the Texas Panhandle." The map will show how widely his plotting of the route diverges from that of Simpson and of Winship. We may add also that it

differs widely from that given by a contributor to the *Kansas State Historical Collections* (vol. 17, 1926-28), who will have it that William E. Connelley, secretary of that Society, "was the first man to locate Quivira in its rightful place in the valley of the Arkansas."

Mr. Donoghue's reasons for his identification are as follows:

(1) Coronado's statement that the "plains were so vast that I did not find their limit anywhere I went" obviously applies neither to the rolling plains of Kansas nor to the typical Permian topography of western Oklahoma and west central Texas, but to the flat barren region of eastern New Orleans and western Texas, known as the Llano Estacado or Staked Plains. (2) Very slow progress should be credited to an expedition of 1500 men during the hot months. It is doubtful that the expedition marched more than one day out of two or three or averaged more than ten miles per day. Winship's route covers about 2000 miles, Simpson's about 1600. (3) Salt lakes are found only in the southern Llano Estacado. (4) Neither Winship's nor Simpson's route leads through "ravines," expressly mentioned in the narratives and identified by Mr. Donoghue as Palo Duro Cañon and its various branches at the head of the Red River. "Apparently Coronado marched north or northeast from the ravines (Palo Duro Canon)." (5) "Only one river is mentioned as being crossed, that 'below Quivira.' This can be none other than the Canadian. If Coronado had gone to the Arkansas, he would have crossed the Canadian, the North Canadian and the Cimarron, an experience which I believe no explorer would have forgotten. Quivira was on the Canadian River near the north-eastern border of the Llano Estacado in the counties of Hutchinson and Roberts, in the Texas Panhandle."

Karpinski Maps of the Missouri Region.—An article written by Father Garraghan for the *Missouri Historical Society Collections* in June of last year (1928) would have been noted earlier in these Gleanings had not the issue failed to reach the reviewer's desk. Father Garraghan in his paper gives an account of certain maps found by him in the large collection of so-called Karpinski photostatic reproductions of rare maps preserved in the French archives at Paris and in the Spanish archives at Madrid. A full set of these invaluable maps in reproduction is in the Ayer collection of the Newberry Library where Father Garraghan spent a number of days examining them. Three

maps of special interest for the student of Missouri history are described by him and are reproduced (in negative prints). "The first is a map dated Paris, May 19, 1732, based upon data gathered by the Sieur Diron d'Artaguiette in an exploratory trip which he made up the Mississippi from New Orleans to Cahokia, across from the site of the future St. Louis. . . . It indicates clearly the site of the French-Indian settlement maintained during the period 1700-1703 at the mouth of the River Des Peres. . . . The existence of the settlement in question, the earliest known gathering of whites in residence on Missouri soil, has been established beyond all doubt in recent years from documentary and other sources. There always was a persistent tradition that a Jesuit Indian mission had been located somewhere in the neighborhood of the Des Peres, 'River of the Fathers.' . . . The tradition is now substantiated." The significance of the map lies in its locating this earliest white settlement "definitely within the present municipal limits of St. Louis." Another map shows the "bearings of a part of the Mississippi and the Missouri from the village of Pain-court to Cold Water Creek," and is dated October 15, 1767. It bears the name of Guy Dufossat, a French engineer who accompanied Captain Francisco Rui in that year to the junction of the Missouri and of the Mississippi, and there laid the foundations of Fort Don Carlos. St. Louis on this map is called by its nickname "Pain-court" (short-of-bread) perhaps because it had in the opening years of its career no grain supplies of its own, so Father Garraghan observes. The third map is a plan of the course of the River of the Missouri with Fort Orleans. It is the work of Dumont de Montigny and is undated. Its importance lies in definitely fixing the site of old Fort Orleans, "the first, if not the only military post in the strict sense of the term, established by the French on the Missouri River." The Fort is shown on the left bank of the Missouri, on the mainland and not—as was long supposed—on an island. This confirms the conclusion of Baron de Villiers, an outstanding contemporary authority on the French occupation of the Mississippi Valley, who placed it a mile or two further up the river.

Story of the North Country.—The domain in Canada and New York included broadly between Lake Champlain and the Richelieu westward to Lake Huron and from the Ottawa southward to the parallel running between Lakes Ontario and Erie is designated the "North Country" by George W. Reeves in a

sketch of its history from the earliest times contributed by him to the April number, 1929, of the *Quarterly Journal of the New York Historical Association*. The land surface of this region is the oldest on the face of the globe, the Adirondacks and the Laurentian Mountains having been the first dry ground to appear above the primeval ocean, according to geologists. Fossils have been found that antedate the ice age. "Stretching across New York from near the Upper Hudson to the Seneca was the domain of the Five Nations, the Indians of the Long House. On the north along the Ottawa and the St. Lawrence were various tribes of Algonquins. In the lands between Lakes Ontario and Huron were the Hurons, Neutrals and Tobacco Indians. West of the Seneca and south of Lake Erie were the Eries. In southern New York and Pennsylvania were the Andastes. . . . So far as the activities of the white race entered into the early history of the North Country, we need consider only the French," Mr. Reeves says; "no Dutchman, so far as the records show, ever ventured into the North Country in the early days; and it was not until a hundred years later that Englishmen were permitted by the Iroquois to build trading posts and forts here. . . . Following Champlain were three classes, the priest, the explorer and the coureurs-de-bois. These were the men who, starting from or passing through the North Country gateway, explored and founded trading posts, missions, and settlements in the middle West." But even before Champlain, Father Le Caron had gone to the Huron country. "By 1634 Father Brebeuf and other priests had established missions among the Hurons. In 1641 Fathers Jogues and Raymbault preached at the mission of St. Marie to a multitude of Indians representing more than twenty tribes of the far West." Early alienated from the French, the Iroquois had long been their bitter enemies, had raided the settlements on the St. Lawrence and had massacred the settlers. The Dutch bought furs from the Iroquois at Albany and persuaded their Indian allies to maintain the northern frontiers against the French. But by 1700, owing to French factions within the Iroquois, to intermarriage, and even to adoption of whites by the Indians as chiefs—for example, Sir William Johnson, a young Irishman—the French had begun to win over many of the western Iroquois. "Father Picquet from his mission at La Presentation, now Ogdensburg, was winning many converts among the Iroquois to the Catholic faith and

the French cause." The fur trade was attracted to Fort Frontenac. To counteract the advantage to the French, the English established a post and fort at Oswego. Then followed the long rivalry and struggle between English and French for the control of the valleys of the Ohio and Mississippi.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL.

The Newberry Library
Chicago

NEWS AND COMMENTS

A conference on the history of the trans-Mississippi West was held June 18-21 at Boulder, Colorado, under the auspices of the University of Colorado. The program, arranged with skill by Professor James F. Willard, head of the Department of History, offered a wide range of interesting and scholarly papers by outstanding students in the field of Western history. Among these were Professors Archer H. Hulbert, Solon J. Buck, John C. Parrish, Leroy R. Hafen, Frederick L. Paxson, Eugene C. Barker, and Herbert E. Bolton. Prof. Bolton's address at the general session in the University theater was especially admirable, his subject being "Defensive Spanish Expansion and the Significance of the Borderlands." Spain's mighty achievement in the New World in a cultural and civilizing way was pictured at once with eloquence and scholarship. No historian has done more than Professor Bolton to set out in due perspective and relief the distinguished part played by Spain in making the Americas what they are today.

The death early in 1928 of Dr. Clarence Walworth Alvord left a void in the field of Mississippi Valley history which can scarcely be filled. It is gratifying to recall that no one has better pointed out the significance of Catholic Church history in the general story of Western development than Dr. Alvord, as he did in an article contributed by him to the initial issue of the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (July, 1918). It was a capital article with an unmistakable note of encouragement and inspiration to all workers in the field of Catholic beginnings in the West. As a tribute to so distinguished an historian, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association has organized the Clarence Alvord Walworth Commission, the aim of which is to realize a project which Dr. Alvord himself conceived but did not live to realize, the publication as far as practicable of the great mass of hitherto unprinted source-material for the history of the Mississippi Valley. With a view to financing the project the commission is now soliciting contributions to the Alvord Publication Fund, which, it is estimated, should reach \$10,000, to meet the necessary expenses involved. Moreover, subscriptions are also solicited for the proposed Clarence Walworth Alvord

Fund Publications with the understanding that each volume will be paid for on receipt, that the total cost will not exceed \$10.00 in any one year, and that this subscription may be cancelled on six months' notice. Copies of the publications will be sent without charge to all who contribute \$250 or more to the Fund. Checks should be made payable to the Mississippi Valley Historical Association. Checks and subscriptions may be addressed to the Chairman of the Commission, Solon J. Buck, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

Anyone who has motored along the Camino Real, California's glorious highway once linking up the historic Franciscan missions that lined its path like jewels from San Diego to Mission Dolores and beyond, will know the charm of scenery and sunshine that one feasts on along the way. If the motorist be historical-minded, then the appeal of the vanished missions will grip him and the two fascinations of scenery and stirring historical association will make his happiness complete. For even the dullest-minded must feel a quivering of the pulse as the story is told him of Padre Junipero Serras's unforgettable outposts of civilization and the Faith that stretched away from the Colorado six hundred miles to the north, their scattered ruins being today California's most precious heritage from the past. What Serra and the sons of St. Francis did for Upper California was done for Lower California by Juan Maria Salvatierra and his Jesuit associates and so, a situation often paralleled in history, the "two Californias" remain beholden for all time to men of the cloister for having given them their first thrust away from barbarism into the paths of ordered and civilized life. What wonder that the memory of these trailblazers of the Cross should be treasured up by Californians! On July 16, 1929, on the very spot where Serra founded the Mission of San Diego de Alcala exactly one hundred and sixty years ago, outdoor solemn High Mass was celebrated in the presence of fifteen thousand people, the Spanish Ambassador to the United States being among the worshippers. The sacred vestments worn on the occasion were the very ones worn by Serra himself and the chalice used was the one the illustrious missionary himself had in his hands in the celebration of Mass. United States army planes flew in cross-formation over the altar before the services and following them a musical program was rendered

by the Marine Band and the Band of the Naval Station. A pageant depicting the arrival of Serra and the founding of San Diego de Alcalá, the first of the famous series, featured the occasion, which was likewise marked by the dedication of the Junipero Serra Museum, George W. Marston's magnificent gift to the people of San Diego.

Catholics are sometimes heard to complain of the apathy of their co-religionists in regard to history, especially the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. It is true we should like to see more active interest manifested among us in the promotion of historical studies through our historical societies, the production of books and other ways. As a matter of fact, however, the truth is that when it comes to interest in history the Catholics can probably give a better account of themselves than any of the Protestant denominations. Dr. Guilday indeed does not exaggerate when he writes in the *Catholic Official Yearbook, 1928*, that the Catholic Church "is better represented in the field of history than all other religious bodies taken together." Dr. J. Franklin Jameson in a recent issue of the *American Historical Review* pointed out as particularly worthy of note the work done by the Catholics of the United States on behalf of their denominational history, while Waldo G. Leland wrote in the *Catholic Historical Review* some years ago: "American Catholics have done more for their history than have any of the Protestant denominations." As an instance in point, since 1884 thirteen Catholic historical societies have been organized, the most recent of them being the Iowa Catholic Historical Society which started out in 1928. Texas has now its Catholic Historical Society with headquarters at St. Edward's College, Austin, Texas, this society being tributary to the Knights of Columbus Historical Commission organized in 1923 with a view to feature the anniversary of Texan Independence, 1936, by the publication of a centennial history of the Church in Texas, 1836-1936. As to diocesan and regional histories of the Church in America, several have appeared in recent years or are in course of preparation. Of the dioceses Cincinnati was thus written up in 1919, Chicago in 1923, Springfield in 1928, and St. Louis in 1929, while Detroit will be covered in an elaborate history to appear in connection with the centennial of the diocese in 1933.

Probably the chief explanation of contemporary Catholic interest in history is the circumstance that the Church has been identified with so much of the pioneer history of the United States. The Spanish and French periods were obviously Catholic in background and these periods saw the beginnings of our national development, which like all historical origins have come to be suffused in the perspective of the years with glamour and romance. But, if historical beginnings seem to appropriate to themselves a particularly generous measure of the romantic, they are not on that account the most important chapter in the record of a country's growth. Clarence Walworth Alvord was at pains to stress in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* (July, 1918) the fact that in the evolution of the United States the most momentous stage in the process was that which witnessed the inpouring into the country of the great immigrant elements from abroad. Here, even more so than in the picturesque and colorful days of exploration and discovery, is the story of Catholic achievement one of dramatic and compelling interest. Charm, therefore, and all else that has power to fill the imagination and stir the emotions belongs to the story of the Catholic Church in the United States at every stage of its career.

It is curious how persons one has been associated with for years will casually reveal themselves in some unexpected historical relation which one has not in the least connected with them before. Thus the writer of these lines was surprised to learn recently from a friend of his, a Jesuit priest resident in Chicago, that he was a great-grand-nephew of William Caldwell, a well-known Potawatomi chief who figured in early Chicago history. Nothing could be more surprising or unlooked for and still there could be no doubt from the data furnished by the priest, whose mother's name was Caldwell, of the reality of this family connection. Caldwell's career, a story of the first interest in the history of the frontier, has so far been sketched only in rough outline out of the fragmentary data at present available. Where is the writer or research-student in history who will dig up in the Indian Office at Washington and elsewhere the particulars of Caldwell's highly interesting life? Kit Carson has lately been written up again, and the man who did the work is now engaged on a life of Sitting Bull. Do present-day makers

of American biography, and their name is legion, realize what promising subjects await them in the Indian celebrities of the frontier period, about many of whom we have almost no detailed information at all, despite the fact that research would undoubtedly bring to light abundant data about them? William Caldwell in particular was a figure of no little importance in the pioneer history of the West. The son of an English army officer and a Potawatomi squaw, he was known as the Sauganash or Englishman, a name borrowed by Mark Beaubien for his historic pioneer hotel at Market and Lake Streets in Chicago. The Sauganash became, with Alexander Robinson and Joseph Laframboise, one of the chiefs or headmen of his people, the Potawatomi, with whom he chose to be associated to his dying day. Notable things are laid up to his credit. He saved the lives of the Kinzies and other whites (though the tradition has been questioned) at Fort Dearborn the day following the massacre of August 15, 1812. Caldwell's part in the historic incident was recently (August 15, 1929) brought to public notice in an interesting ceremony staged on the scene of the massacre by the prominent Chicago artist, Thomas O'Shaughnessy. Furthermore, Caldwell was instrumental in restraining the Potawatomi from participation in the Winnebago and Blackhawk Wars and he took a leading part in the Potawatomi treaties of 1829 and 1833. Said an Indian orator at the Chicago Treaty of 1833 as reported in an unpublished journal now in the files of the Indian Office, Washington: "We then [in 1829] appointed these men (pointing out Caldwell and Robinson) our chief councillors. We are one flesh, they have been raised amongst us. So long as they live they were chosen to manage our business. Whatever they say and do we agree to. They will take time and council together and determine what shall be done." William Caldwell was one of the signers of the 1833 petition of the Catholics of Chicago for a resident priest, the result of which was the arrival of Father St. Cyr in April that year. When the Potawatomi moved west in 1835 Caldwell accompanied them and when Fathers De Smet and Verreydt arrived in Council Bluffs in June, 1838, to open a mission there among the erstwhile Chicago Potawatomi, the Sauganash befriended them in a substantial way. "Mr. Caldwell . . ." wrote De Smet, "seems to a very worthy honest man; he is well-disposed toward us . . . he has given us possession of three cabins." Caldwell was married at Council

Bluffs, January 2, 1839, to Susanne Misnawke and he was godfather to John Naakeze, baptised at the age of approximately 102 years, December 29, 1838. Caldwell died at the bluffs in the midst of his Potawatomi kinsmen September 28, 1841. The story of his interesting career has yet to be written.

Speaking of the Chicago Potawatomi one may set himself the interesting task of tracing the career of their headmen after the tribe had left the prairies of Illinois for Western Iowa and later for the Kaw Valley in Kansas. Here, on a thirty-mile-square reservation cut by the muddy Kaw, many of the Potawatomi braves of other days lived out their lives under the spiritual care of Jesuit missionaries from St. Louis. Here a petition for Catholic Indian schools was signed among others by Half-Day, whose name lives on in a sleepy little village on the Chicago-Libertyville road. Here died, with the Jesuit Father Christian Hoecken ministering to him in his last moments, Pierre Le Clerc, Indian orator of distinction, who was present at the Fort Dearborn massacre and in the capacity of interpreter arranged the terms of the surrender. Here were gathered the Ouilmettes or Wilmettes, offspring of venerable Antoine Wilmette, sometimes reputed Chicago's earliest white resident, whose memory is preserved to posterity in the name of one of Chicago's supersuburbs, the site of which was a one-time possession of his wife. Here at Silver Lake on the Kaw River Reservation passed away Medard Beaubien, son of Jean Baptiste Beaubien, whose claim to the old Fort Dearborn Reservation, a property of fabulous value today, gave rise to a *cause celebre* among American land-suits. One may read today Medard Beaubien's deposition in the case taken at his home in Silver Lake, the site of which he dedicated to the public and the government of which he three times administered as mayor. The emigration of his Potawatomi relatives to the West found him comfortably fixed in Chicago; but he chose to follow them, preferring as he said, "to be a big Indian rather than a little white man."

So had the quondam lords of the Chicago terrain come to find decent subsistence and contentment if not the comforts of civilization on the Kansas prairies.

The extent to which Father Marquette has gripped the imagination of the people of the Middle West reveals itself more and

more as the years wear on. In 1923, two hundred and fifty years after its occurrence, the historic descent of the Mississippi by Louis Jolliet and his Jesuit companions was reenacted by two young Iowans who, impersonating the two explorers in fitting costume, canoed down the Father of Waters from the mouth of the Wisconsin to Burlington, Iowa. Appropriate welcome was tendered them in the towns along the way which thus recaptured the memory of the far-reaching historic event which the young men sought to bring home to them in this concrete, dramatic way. Then, on December 8, 1924, was commemorated the two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of Marquette at the mouth of the Chicago River, where he camped for a brief spell, the first recorded residence of a white man on the site of the great metropolis of the Middle United States. The city of Chicago is not careless of the memory of its earliest known resident and a plaque of bronze on a pylon of the great Link Bridge on Michigan Avenue, traversed daily by the mightiest volume of automobile traffic in the world to pass a given point, pictures the fascinating figure of the missionary-explorer in his Chicago setting. Other Marquette memorials of recent date might be named, as the marker set up by the Knights of Columbus in State Park, Grant County, Wisconsin, a spot overlooking the Wisconsin River at its mouth, and the notably artistic three-figured monument depicting Jolliet, Marquette, and an Indian chief, which the skill of H. A. MacNeil created and the enterprise of Chicagoans set up on one of the city's beautiful boulevards. Recently, too, the spot near Ludington, Michigan, where the immortal missionary finished all too soon his earthly career has been investigated and it would appear rather accurately identified by a group of students and professors from Marquette University, Milwaukee, who propose to mark the site with a suitable memorial.

Even within the last few months (1929) the movement to keep afresh the memory of this great pioneer missionary of the West has gone on apace. Thus announcement is made by the President of the University of Detroit, which is the legal owner of the property, that Marquette's grave at St. Ignace, Michigan, is about to be made a public shrine. On August 4 the discovery of the Illinois River by Jolliet and his Jesuit associate was reenacted in a pageant at Perrin's Ledge, two miles north of Kanesville, Illinois. A monument erected on the Ledge bears

the inscription: "To Marquette, Jolliet, and their first companions, discoverers of the Illinois." The Reverend A. J. Blesser impersonated the Jesuit while Mr. Joseph Stelling played the part of Jolliet. Again, on September 1 was unveiled at Grafton, Illinois, an impressive memorial commemorating the first arrival of white men in Illinois in the persons of Jolliet, Marquette and the accompanying voyageurs. The Governor of Illinois was present and the Rev. Frederic Siedenburg, S. J. of Loyola University, Chicago, delivered the address. Finally, a tablet of granite and bronze is to mark the line of the famous Chicago portage-route, one of the "five keys" of the continent, a route which connected the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River system with the Valley of the Mississippi. Attention to the Chicago portage route has recently been directed by the exhaustive study of it by Zeuch and Knight reviewed in the present issue of *Mid-America*. A new title of distinction is accorded by these authors to Jolliet and Marquette, as being the discoverers of the Chicago Portage. There, so they assure us, where the immortal pair turned in from the Desplaines to Portage Creek in 1673 the history of Chicago really begins. There is accordingly an obvious fitness in marking with a memorial this starting point of Chicago's greatness, for there is no doubt that it was the existence of the portage which brought the Chicago region into prominence from the earliest days. The memorial will stand on Harlem Avenue at a short remove from the Desplaines, the project being sponsored by the Chicago Historical Society, the Regional Planning Commission and the Sanitary District.

And so this way and that is the memory perpetuated of the young missionary-explorer who in a short compass of years achieved a work that bids fair to

"dull the edge of time
And last with stateliest rhyme."

The following narrative has been sent to *Mid-America* by Mr. Aidan Arthur O'Keeffe, 6947 Lafayette Ave., Chicago, Ill., with this accompanying note: "This is the absolutely true story of the experiences of a Catholic sister, Sister Mary of the Incarnation, a member of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet, now dead, who tells her human and interesting story of the Chicago Fire. The story stands almost as she wrote it, barring a few minor corrections of grammar and diction. I possess a copy of the original paper as she wrote it."

REMINISCENCES OF THE CHICAGO FIRE

As the anniversary of the great Chicago Fire comes round each year, my memory goes back to the 9th of October in 1871. I was a stranger in Chicago at the time, here only five or six weeks, and therefore knew little of the City. But my experiences of that night and of the winter that followed will never be effaced.

The buildings of the former St. Mary's Seminary of the Lake, situated on the corner of State and Superior Streets, the present site of the Cathedral in Chicago, had been given over for the use of the orphans. This home, St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, was under the direction of the Sisters of St. Joseph and Mother Mary Joseph, assisted by fourteen Sisters, was in charge of the Institution. At that time it housed two hundred and eighty children, ranging in age from three weeks to eighteen years, some of whom were feeble-minded and crippled.

At about nine o'clock on Sunday evening, October 9th, all the inmates had retired for the night, excepting Sister Michael and myself who still had some duties to perform. On entering one of the large dormitories, Sister noticed a strange glow on the South side, and remarked that there must be a fire downtown. While we were watching, we noticed people out on the street, but as the flames seemed to be at a distance, we felt in no way alarmed. The fire, however, kept gaining headway and the excitement out on the street increased.

The noise and restlessness of the people gave us to understand that it was no ordinary fire. We called the Sisters; merely for the sake of safety we then got the children up and dressed, which was no easy task, as they were in their first sleep and hard to waken. Some, in fact, fell asleep while dressing, and crawled into or even under the bed for more rest. All the while we were careful not to mention "Fire" in order to prevent a panic among the children. Since the flames kept spreading, our great care was to make the Blessed Sacrament secure. Our Chaplain, the Reverend Father Guerin (I'm not certain of the spelling) did not appear, notwithstanding the danger of our home by this time. So with heroic effort Mother Mary Joseph crossed the street in the face of the high destructive wind which was raging, with the intention of calling the priest. At the housekeeper's repeated assertions that all the priests had gone out to save the Blessed Sacrament in churches and chapels, Mother Mary Joseph insisted that Father Guerin must be at home. Firm in the conviction that Father's first thought would be our Chapel she prevailed on the housekeeper to take her to his room. After several loud cries of "fire" and strong blows against the door Father Guerin was at last roused from a deep sleep, which would surely have been his death had Mother Mary Joseph not been so determined.

As soon as he was awakened to the danger, he seized his cassock and slippers, and a few minutes later saved the Blessed Sacrament from our Chapel. But he could not return to his room again, for it was in the power of the flames. Meanwhile all the Sisters and children had assembled in the Chapel on the first floor nearest the exit. Feeling that the Chapel was the greatest place of safety, all remained there until the danger of being burned was imminent.

At one o'clock the water works behind our property took fire, and even in our barnyard three loads of hay which had been brought in the previous afternoon were ablaze. It was high time for us to leave. Each Sister carried two infants. The larger boys and girls took charge of the smaller ones and we formed

a close line of march, after receiving strict orders to hold on to one another. With Mother Mary Joseph in the lead we started Northward, not knowing whither we were going. The mad rushing of people, some jumping through the windows to save their lives, the weird crying and howling, the hurrying of horses and vehicles made it almost impossible to keep together. The greatest difficulty was at the street crossings.

One incident of many is worth relating. A team of horses came rushing toward us on the right and one on the left. As there was danger of breaking our group and therefore of losing some of our children, Mother Mary Joseph stepped up before the horses and asked both drivers to halt in God's Name. One graciously submitted but the other roused no doubt by the danger of the situation tried to go on. Mother Mary Joseph boldly stepped up, took the horses by the bridle while he continued to beat the horses. Passersby seeing the situation tore the driver from his seat and gave him a severe beating. I can still hear Mother saying: "Don't kill him. He's not worth it." While this was going on, we seized our opportunity and got across. Imagine us, trying to make our way with burning buildings on each side of us and plank walks at intervals burning underneath. The flames like serpents crawled around the buildings.

After travelling in this way until about four o'clock in the morning we found ourselves on a prairie many miles outside the City. Sheer exhaustion caused us to rest now that we had made a considerable advance beyond the fire zone. The sky was hot and a lurid red, the sun that morning rose like a ball of fire, the ground was warm, but notwithstanding, the children fell asleep as soon as they found a place to lay their tired heads.

Between eight and nine in the morning we saw in the distance two men on horseback coming toward us. As they approached, we recognized two Jesuit priests, the Reverend Fathers O'Neil and Van [den] Eyek[en], who have since gone to their eternal reward. Until then they had made a fruitless search for the orphans since two o'clock in the morning. Imagine their joy and ours, since they had found those whom they had sought, and when we learned that they offered to bring us unexpected but much needed relief. They requested us not to go any farther, while they would return to their home on Twelfth Street, intending to send two Fathers with a conveyance to take us to some place of safety.

In the meantime Mother Mary Joseph had given our hired man, who had succeeded in saving our horse and buggy and had found us, some money with the injunction to get provisions in the City and return as soon as possible to the starving children. But such was our fate that the horse ran away, the buggy was burned and the hired man, Mr. Sullivan, did not come back to us till three months later.

At four o'clock in the afternoon the Jesuits brought several spring wagons and other vehicles they could procure and all were taken to the Jesuit College on Twelfth and May Streets. At our arrival about eleven o'clock that night we were welcomed most heartily by all the Fathers and students who had labored all day long changing the class rooms into living apartments for the children.

There we remained for two weeks while an old two story frame school building about two blocks away was prepared for a temporary home for the winter. The lack of commodious quarters necessitated our accepting the offers of aid from Orphanages in Cincinnati and St. Louis. One hundred children were sent

to each place, while eighty of the smallest stayed with us. The following May we were permanently established in Chicago again. The new commodious building enabled us to welcome back the two hundred children who had been cared for in Cincinnati and St. Louis.

Considering all the hardships we endured from the night of the fire on through the bitter cold of the winter, the Providence of God and our dear Father, St. Joseph watched over us, for not a life was lost, nor did a single child get sick.

BOOK REVIEWS

Robert Knight, M. W. S. E., and Lucius H. Zeuch, M. D. *The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century. A Paper read before the Chicago Historical Society, May 1, 1923, and later elaborated for publication.* Chicago Historical Society, Chicago, Illinois, 1928, p. 145.

One of our keenest living students of Western history, Dr. Milo M. Quaife, wrote in 1916 in his *Chicago and the Old Northwest*: "The comparatively undeveloped state of the field of American historical research is well illustrated by the fact that despite the historical importance of the Chicago Portage, no careful study of it has ever been made. The student will seek in vain for even an adequate description of the physical characteristics of the Portage." This gap is now happily filled by the volume under review. Its authors, Robert H. Knight and Lucius H. Zeuch, the one an engineer, the other a physician, have made a thoroughgoing and practically exhaustive study of the problem involved, using in the process a great amount of documentary material in the shape of maps, surveys, and other historical records, and especially relying for their conclusions on first-hand and long continued investigation of the terrain in question. It is this dominantly direct and personal method of approach to the problem which lends to the authors' study much of its value and certainly a great deal of its charm for the reader. One feels no hesitation in accepting as correct the path which these two scholarly investigators have indicated as the one followed by Jolliet and Marquette when they made the first passage of record across the site of the future Chicago. "As a result of these researches and explorations, by collating the physical conditions extant in recent times with the documentary evidence newly brought to light, we reach the conclusion that the age-old mystery has been cleared up and that the route taken by Jolliet and Marquette, the first persons of record to traverse this region was by way of the Desplaines River, Mud Lake, and Chicago River and that this route through what is now the city of Chicago was the true Chicago Portage used by the later missionaries, explorers and fur traders (p. xiv)."

The "Portage de Chicagou" or "Carrying Place," as it is named on some of the early maps, was a true continental divide,

being one and a half miles of prairie land which normally separated the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River System from the Valley of the Mississippi. The "Carrying Place," as located by Knight and Zeuch, ran from the eastern terminus of Mud Lake, approximately Albany Avenue and Thirty-first Street, to the junction of Leavitt Street with the west fork of the south branch of the Chicago River, this latter point being in the period of exploration the head of navigation of the river named. Later the Indians and traders, dragging their canoes over the Portage, wore a ditch across it which was subsequently enlarged and became a part of the channel of the Chicago River. It would take one altogether beyond the limits of a mere review to attempt to indicate the multiform heads of evidence on which the authors base their conclusions as to the location of the Portage. Two of the evidential sources utilized are of particular interest and may be at least mentioned, La Salle's record of the latitude of the Portage (41 degrees 50 minutes north) and Thevenot's map published in his 1681 edition of the *Recueil de voyages*, which gave to the world Marquette's *Recit* of the famous voyage of 1673. "This [La Salle's] record of the latitude," say the authors of the present study, "should forever settle any question as to the location of the Chicago Portage" (p. 24). The Thevenot map, so it is maintained (p. 99), delineates clearly the west branch of the south fork of the Chicago River, Mud Lake, the Portage, and the Desplaines River. With regard to Dr. Louise P. Kellogg's theory as to the Thevenot map cited by the authors (p. 65), it may be pointed out that this theory was subsequently abandoned by her on further study of the problem.

All in all, Messrs. Knight and Zeuch have given us a rare piece of thoroughgoing and accurate research. It is not often that sustained and scholarly investigation of a topographical problem issues in such clearcut and definite results. The outcome is all the more gratifying as it puts students of Chicago history in possession of the necessary physical background for the opening pages of the city's recorded story. Portage Creek, the outlet of Mud Lake into the Desplaines, presents pretty much the same natural features that it did when Jolliet and Marquette passed between its banks and it is gratifying to learn that together with some two hundred acres of adjoining land it is to be included in Cook County's famous Forest Preserves and dedicated to the memory of the old Chicago Portage and its discoverers.

Antoine Roy, *L' Oeuvre Historique de Pierre-Georges Roy: Bibliographie Analytique*. Paris, Jouve et Cie, 1928, pp. 268.

Scarcely known in the United States, the name of Mr. Pierre-Georges Roy is an outstanding one in Canadian historiography. His contributions to the history of French Canada run into some hundred volumes and brochures and cover every aspect, especially cultural and genealogical, of the past story of the great country of which he is proud to call himself a native son. His literary output is indeed amazing in point of sheer bulk and as for quality it embodies a vast amount of first hand and invaluable data gathered through some forty years of archival research. The book under review is an attempt, admirably executed, on the part of a son, Mr. Antoine Roy, to present a bibliographical survey of the elder Roy's historical productions. As government archivist the latter has the custody of the enormous documentary collection housed in the Parliament Building of Quebec and it is largely from this rich depository that he has drawn the material for his prolific historical studies. His brother, Mr. Edmond Roy, deceased many years, was also a distinguished worker in the field of Canadian history. Mr. Pierre-Georges Roy, born at Levis, Canada, in 1870, is a Doctor of Letters of Laval University, Quebec (1911) and of Ottawa University (1925), a Doctor of Laws of Notre Dame University, Indiana (1919), a Commander of St. Gregory (1919), a Knight of the Legion of Honor (1927), and a Laureate of the Institute of France (1926).

In addition to his numerous monographs and larger works, such as his *Les Petites Choses de Notre Histoire*, Mr. Roy has edited the *Reports* of The Archives of the Province of Quebec and of the Historic Monuments Commission of the Province of Quebec, bulky volumes, some of them splendidly illustrated, and all of them informed with the spirit of the best, up-to-date scholarly research. Moreover, he has for years conducted single-handed the *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, an invaluable store-house of data of Canadian history similar in plan and scope to the *American Catholic Historical Researches* of the late Martin I. C. Griffin. In his delvings into the documentary history of New France, Mr. Roy has sometimes touched territory which is now the United States. His most noteworthy venture in this direction is his study *Le Sieur de Vincennes, Fondateur de L'Indiana et sa Famille*, 1919, the data of which

had been previously embodied in an article published in the *Transactions of the Indiana Historical Society* under the title "Sieur de Vincennes Identified." The results of Roy's illuminating researches into the family-history of the founder of Vincennes, François-Marie Bissot de Vincennes, was acclaimed with keen satisfaction by Indiana historians and Notre Dame University in recognition of his work conferred on him the degree of Doctor of Laws. Vincennes sometimes signed himself "Vincennes de Margane," in deference to his god-father, François Mazone de Lavaltrie. This name was somehow metamorphosed into Morgan giving rise to the tradition that the founder of Vincennes was an Irishman, a tradition which Bishop Bruté and other writers did not hesitate to accept. Another contribution made by the indefatigable Quebec archivist to American history is in supplying details on the ancestry of General John C. Fremont, the Pathfinder, and the first candidate of the Republican Party for the Presidency. The reviewer has no reliable data immediately on hand concerning the religious affiliations of Fremont; but it used to be said that he was a Catholic as certain letters of Marcus Whitman indicate. Though Fremont himself was apparently not a practicing Catholic he did come of presumably Catholic stock, his father having been Louis René Fremont, native of Quebec. A relative of his, so Mr. Roy informs us in one of his genealogical studies, was a saintly Carmelite nun, Sister Thérèse of Jesus, daughter of a mayor of Quebec, whose life under the title, *Une fleur de Carmel*, has been written by Père Braun.

The two Roys, father and son, are to be congratulated on the appearance of this volume, the father, as it extends the range of his achievement by making it better known to students and scholars, and the son as it gives assurance that even now despite his brief life-span of only twenty years he is competent to work with eminent success, after the example of his father, in the fascinating field of Canadian history.

(P-G. Roy, ed.), *L'Île D' Orleans*. Published by the Historic Monuments Commission of the Province of Quebec. Quebec, Printed by Ls. a. Proulx, Printer to His Majesty the King, 1928, pp. 505.

This is a beautifully printed and superbly illustrated volume having for its theme the many-sided charm, historical associa-

tions, present-day attractions in scenery and old-world cultural survivals of the Island of Orleans, which lies in the St. Lawrence a short distance below Quebec and which was first sighted by white men when Jacques Cartier in 1535 pushed up the great waterway for the first time. The work does not profess to be a history of this romantic piece of ground; it aims merely to introduce the reader to the fascinating atmosphere of poetic suggestion and appealing historical memories which envelop it, to the physical beauties of the place and the simple unspoiled life of its inhabitants. The artistic features of the book are beyond all commendation. Reproductions in color of exquisite paintings, the work especially of Horatio Walker, who has made the Island of Orleans peculiarly his own, and hundreds of photographic prints of the Island's scenery, churches, folk-customs, and people (a delightful print of Mr. Adjutor de Montigny's family of thirteen calls for particular mention) make the reader fully alive to the charms of this isolated spot in the broad St. Lawrence. Here the past lives on unperturbed by the illusory glamour of our hectic age. "Everything there reminds one of other times; customs, language, modes of farming, old mill and primitive churches. A tour around the island enchants the eyes and the heart. It is there one meets the people who are most faithful to the glamour of the past. One sees many houses with pointed roofs which have almost disappeared elsewhere; also the solid barns of another age." The ecclesiastical beginnings of the island hark back to Canada's heroic age. The first missionary, De Quen, the Jesuit, arrived in 1648. Later, in 1651, Father Chaumonot settled his beloved Hurons on the Island as a place of refuge after the tragic sweeping away of the splendid Huron missions by the Iroquois.

To Mr. Pierre-Georges Roy as editor-in-chief and to his associates in the task Messrs. C. J. Simard and Charles Maillard is due the credit for producing this imposing volume. No governmental agency, federal or state, in the United States has issued, as far as the reviewer is aware, any historical work comparable to it in typographical excellence and general artistic beauty of execution.

Alfred B. Thomas, *San Carlos—A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787. A Study in Comanche History and Spanish Indian Policy.* Reprinted from the *Colorado Magazine*, Vol. VI, No. 3, May, 1929, pp. 13.

Alfred B. Thomas, *An Eighteenth Century Comanche Document*.
Reprinted from the *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 31, No. 2,
April-June, 1929.

Dr. Thomas, Assistant Professor of History at the University of Oklahoma, has appropriated as his special field of research Spanish penetration in the northern borderlands of Spain's one-time empire in North America. The region thus involved includes what is now Colorado, Kansas, Nebraska, and other sections lying wholly or in part in the Valley of the Missouri. As a preparation for his studies in this direction Dr. Thomas spent a year of research in the Archives of the Indies in Seville and is preparing to return thither on a Guggenheim Fellowship for further study in the same field. The monographs already published by him are outstanding and accredit him as a recognized authority on all subjects pertaining to Spain's northern thrust in the direction of the Missouri. The article *San Carlos* embodies a new aspect of the subject-matter already covered by Dr. Thomas in his *Spanish Activities North and East of New Mexico, 1592-1821*. It is based on some hitherto unpublished documents uncovered in the Archivo General of Mexico City. The Jupes, a Comanche tribe, turning aside with strange abruptness from their traditional nomadic and predatory habits succeeded with Spanish aid in building up in 1787 a settlement of nineteen houses somewhere within the limits of what is now Colorado, probably in the vicinity of Pueblo. This Indian town, known as San Carlos de Los Jupes, lasted only a few months, the Comanches abandoning it with characteristic Indian fickleness. Said Governor Concha in transmitting his report of the affair to the Commandante-General of the Northern Provinces of New Spain, Don Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola; "I feel that unless the Divine Providence performs a miracle they [the Jupes] will never emerge from their rusticity and barbarity." Dr. Thomas commenting on the episode permits himself this interesting reflection: "Ugarte's references to the zeal of the King for the welfare of Indians generally and the Viceroy's and his own hearty approval of the expenditure of several hundred pesos in this civilizing undertaking suggests that the Spaniards had other interests above that of extermination so frequently attributed to them. In short, reports such as these require that accounts of Spain's Indian policy be written more in accord with the facts as well as in the interest of fairness" (p. 6).

An Eighteenth-century Comanche Document reproduces in photostat with accompanying translation and interpretation a Tally Sheet or report of a campaign conducted by the Comanche allies of the Mexicans against the Apache in the year 1786. "Considerable interest attaches to this report. Historically it contributes a detail in Spanish Indian Policy on the northern frontier of New Spain in the late eighteenth century; anthropologically, it reveals possibly the earliest known arrangement of Comanche military societies in a war party. It may be viewed as the earliest Plains pictographic record known; at least this Spanish document indicates that it is a copy of such a record." This article is a new accession to Dr. Thomas's illuminating studies on the northern and northeastern frontier of Spanish New Mexico, 1593-1829.

M. M. Hoffman, *The Catholic Sponsors of Iowa*. Issued by the Iowa Catholic Historical Society. (Collections, 1), 1929. pp. 17.

This is an admirable sketch of the first two United States senators from Iowa, General George Wallace Jones and General Augustus Caesar Dodge, both of whom were members of the Catholic Church. For long years their records have lain under a heavy mantle of obscurity, but now the two appear to be coming into their own. In 1920 Benjamin F. Gue, Iowa statesman and historian, placed their names at the head of those he selected from Iowa for the proposed Hall of Fame at Washington. Jones was born in historic Vincennes, and lived subsequently as a youth in the no less historic Kaskaskia, Illinois, and St. Genevieve, Missouri. In the latter place he contracted a friendship that proved lifelong with young Augustus Caesar Dodge, himself a native of St. Genevieve. Jones's education was received in part at Bishop DuBourg's well-known college in St. Louis, out of which was evolved the later St. Louis University. Both Jones and Dodge afterwards settled in Iowa and the first election for United States senators from that state which took place in 1848 found them outstanding figures in the new-born commonwealth, with the result that they were elected to fill those offices. Both had come from slave-holding families, both had emigrated from the same slave-holding state, Missouri, and now both were the first to represent the first free state west of the Mississippi in the United States Senate. Jones closed his

career of statesmanship as United States Minister to the Republic of New Granada, now Columbia, while the last of the many honorable offices held by Dodge was that of American Minister to Spain. General Jones's estate of eight hundred acres at Sinsinsawa Mound was sold by him to the famous missionary, Father Mazzuchelli, whom he admired greatly and who established on it the Dominican Sisters' college now transferred to Chicago under the name of Rosary College. All in all Father Hoffman's monograph is a quite delightful piece of work and one looks forward to other contributions to Iowa history from his skilful pen.

It is to be noted that the monograph under review is the first of a series of studies to be issued by the Iowa Catholic Historical Society, the most recent of the numerous Catholic historical societies now organized in the country.

Thomas P. O'Rourke, C. B. B., A. M., *The Franciscan Missions in Texas*. A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Catholic University of America in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, Washington, D. C., 1927, pp. 107. (The Catholic University of America Studies in American Church History, Vol. 5).

An excellent study of the beginnings of the Catholic Church in Texas during the period 1690-1793. These beginnings were identified with the missionary activities of the Franciscans, who of all the religious orders bulk largest in the pioneer ecclesiastical history of Mexico and the Spanish border lands to the North. Of the twenty-five missions founded north of the Rio Grande by zealous sons of St. Francis, the earliest, that of San Francisco de los Texas, dates from 1690. It was the penetration of the Texas region by the French under La Salle that first awakened the Spanish authorities in Mexico to the necessity of making some sort of occupation of that region if they were to make good the claim they laid to it. Texas was one of the Spanish border-lands of which Dr. Herbert E. Bolton has written with charm and insight, making the subject peculiarly his own, and the story of Franciscan missionary activity within the limits of the country's most far-flung state is a chapter of surpassing interest in its civil no less than religious history. After all, Texas history like that of numerous other states of the Union,

goes back to the work of a Catholic missionaries for its definite beginnings.

The present study is a commendable example of the illuminating treatment that may be given to American Catholic church history of the Colonial Period when one works from adequate first-hand source-material and with due scientific method. It is scholarly in content and all together readable in form. Out of such monographs as this one of Dr. O'Rourke's will it be possible for the future historian of the Catholic Church in the United States to synthesize with confidence the data for his purpose and achieve what we all hope the years will bring us, a great, comprehensive, accurate and lucidly written narrative of the epical story of the Faith in these United States.

Herbert Eugene Bolton, *History of the Americas: A Syllabus with Maps*. Ginn & Co., Boston, 1928, pp. 313.

This is a text book based on the rather new but altogether just conception that American history cannot be adequately taught if confined to the United States or Brazil or Canada or Mexico. In other words, what is needed is a general synthetic course embracing the entire Western Hemisphere; only in this manner will United States history receive its proper interpretation, for it is only one unit of many closely related and mutually reacting units which together represent the story of development, political, cultural and otherwise in the New World. The present syllabus presents accordingly a survey of Western Hemisphere history in the form of sixty lectures accompanied with readings, references and an unusually helpful series of specially prepared maps. European backgrounds are not neglected and the whole plan of the book is admirably calculated to impress on the student's mind what a complex thing American origins really are and how the United States are the outgrowth of a long series of political, social and cultural influences operating from the time of Columbus in the New World.

(Thomas F. Meehan, ed.), *The Doctrina Breve in Fac-Simile. Published in the city of Tenochtitlan, Mexico, June, 1554, by Right Rev. Juan Zumarraga, First Bishop of Mexico. To which are added the earliest books in the New World by Rev. Zephyrin Englehardt, O. F. M. and A Technical Appreciation of the First American Printers by Stephen H. Hor-*

gan. New York, 1928 (United States Catholic Historical Society, Monograph Series X).

This is a reproduction page by page in photoengravure of the first book ever printed in North America, the *Doctrina Breve*, a catechism compiled in Spanish by Bishop John Zumarraga and published by him in Mexico City in June, 1544. For the printing of the book Juan Pablos had been dispatched from the printery of Juan Cromberger of Seville and the press which he brought along with him must have been a remarkably effective piece of machinery. This was in 1539, just a hundred years before a press was established in Cambridge, Massachusetts. An excellent discussion of the technical features of the book as a specimen of topography is presented by Mr. Stephen H. Horgan, a recognized expert in newspaper illustration, who made the first practical half-tone pictures used in the United States and is the author of numerous handbooks on photoengravure and photo-mechanical methods in general. "From a printer's viewpoint," so Mr. Horgan assures us, "the make-up of this *Doctrina Breve* is little less than marvelous" (p. 16). The copy of the *Doctrina Breve* from which this photographic facsimile was made is among the treasures collected by Mr. Arthur M. Huntington for the Hispanic Society of America.

James J. O'Brien, S. J., *The Louisiana and Mississippi Martyrs*. The Paulist Press, N. Y., 1929, pp. 33.

A new interest has been stirred in the story of the valiant eighteenth-century missionary priests who perished at the hands of Indians within the limits of Louisiana and Mississippi. These are five in number, Fathers Nicholas Foucault (1702) and John Francis Buisson de St. Cosme (1706), priests of the Seminary of Quebec (Society of Foreign Missions) and the three Jesuit Fathers, Paul de Poisson (1729), John Souel (1729) and Anthony Senat (1736). The last named met death in company with the illustrious Sieur de Vincennes, founder of the historic Indiana town which bears his name. Father O'Brien includes in his sketch a prayer to these Louisiana and the Mississippi martyrs approved May 5, 1928, by the Bishop of Natchez and requests that all receiving favors through their intercession make known the same to him at his address, Loyola University, New Orleans.

Leo Kalmer, O. F. M., *Stronger than Death: Historical notes on the heroic sacrifices of Catholic priests and religious during the yellow fever epidemics at Memphis in 1873, 1878 and 1879.* Quincy College, Quincy, Illinois, 1929, pp. 49.

This pamphlet, reproducing a series of articles which appeared in the *Franciscan Herald* for 1928, deals with certain episodes which brought into splendid relief the devotion even to heroism of the Catholic clergy and sisterhoods of the metropolis of Tennessee. The author or, as he modestly styles himself, the compiler of the pamphlet, who was pastor of St. Mary's Church, Memphis, from 1912 to 1917, came to realize the historic character of the great visitations of the yellow scourge to which the city was subject in the past and was wisely minded to gather and put on record all available data regarding the services lent by the Church's representatives on these dreadful occasions. The pains which the author has been at to search for reliable information by personal interviews with actors in the scenes and by research in the archives of religious communities is beyond all praise and illustrates the method which alone will enable us to rescue much of our perishing history from utter oblivion. In the forefront of the successive battles waged against the deadly fever as it fastened its grip upon the unfortunate city were the sons of St. Francis and St. Dominic and the Sisters of St. Joseph, of St. Dominic, of Charity, of St. Francis of Mary Immaculate (Joliet) and the groups of Franciscan Sisters identified with St. Mary's and St. Anthony's Hospitals in St. Louis. There was no limit to the services rendered by these devoted religious men and women and death itself was the price many of them paid for their heroism.

A. F. Valerson, O. C. D., *Mother Adelaide of St. Theresa.* Prompt Publishing Company, Oklahoma City, 1928, pp. 139.

This is brief biography of Adelaide Frances O'Sullivan, who as the Carmelite nun, Mother Adelaide of St. Theresa, achieved distinction for holiness of life to such a degree that the process of her canonization has been officially begun. Born in Anglicanism in New York City, October 8, 1817, she was baptized a Catholic at four years of age by Bishop Benedict Fenwick of Boston, became a Visitandine at Georgetown, left the community to enter a Carmelite convent in Havana, lived subsequently in Guatemala and Savannah, Georgia, and died in Grajal del

Campo in Spain on April 15, 1893. She had reached the age of seventy-five, had been a religious fifty years and had spent the last ten years of her career in Spain. If this remarkable woman, a veritable native-born New Yorker, is soon given the honors of the altar, she will be the first American so to be distinguished. The biography of Mother Adelaide ought to be proof enough if proof were needed that piety of the heroic kind may flourish even on American soil, which one sometimes fancies, shortsightedly enough, to be unfavorable to the growth of the choicest fruits of sanctity. The saintly nun is said to be very popular in Spain where her remains repose. This excellent little sketch ought to make her equally known to her American countryfolk, to whom she would appear to be so far very much of a stranger.

John Rothensteiner, *Chronicles of an Old Missouri Parish. Historical Sketch of St. Michael's Church, Frederickson, Madison County, Missouri. A Souvenir of the Centenary of Its Existence as a Parish.* Cape Girardeau, Mo., 1928, pp. 119.

The accomplished historian of the Catholic Church in Missouri, the Reverend John Rothensteiner, here tells the interesting story of an ancient parish in the southeastern quarter of the state, rich in historical associations, including the location within its limits of Mine La Motte, named for its discoverer, La Motte Cadillac, famous as the founder of Detroit. The first village of St. Michael's, swept away by a flood, was succeeded by a second, and this by a third, almost on the same site, known as Fredericktown. Attended first from St. Genevieve, St. Michael's received its first resident priest in 1827 in the person of the Rev. Anthony Potini, who had for successor the Vincentian, the Reverend Francis Cellini. Cellini was a priest of distinguished energy and zeal and perhaps the most interesting chapter of St. Michael's long career is written around his name. Like all of Father Rothensteiner's work in the field of Western Church history, this book is excellently documented, the source material used serving at once to enliven the narrative and lend authority to its contents. It is a model of what a parish history ought to be.

Annals of the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart, No. 1.
St. Joseph's Seminary, Teutopolis, Illinois, 1929.

The current year, 1929, which marks the fiftieth anniversary of the existence of the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart with headquarters in Chicago, sees the first issue of this important periodical, the purpose of which is to gather and preserve available data for a contemplated comprehensive history of the Province named. The present issue embodies interesting accounts of the arrival and activities of the proto-members, obituary notices of deceased members and information regarding the work, parochial, missionary, educational and benevolent, now being carried on by the Province's personnel. An excellent beginning is thus made towards putting on record the engrossing story of Franciscan activities on behalf of Church and State in Mid-western America.

Saint Meinrad's Historical Essays. Published by the Seminarians, St. Meinrad's Seminary, St. Meinrad, Indiana, Vol. I, No. 2, April, 1929.

The appearance in May, 1928, of the first issue of this serial met with highly favorable comment and was recognized as an enterprise well calculated to promote the cause of Catholic Church history in the United States. The current issue presents seven papers, the subjects dealt with being among others, Toleration, The Story of Acadia, Very Reverend Isidore Hobi, O. S. B., the first Rector of St. Meinrad's and the St. Meinrad Seminary Unit of the Catholic Students Mission Crusade. The great Benedictine house of studies at St. Meinrad's is to be congratulated on thus fostering among its students in their seminary days a practical interest in history, especially the Catholic ecclesiastical history of the United States and on thus affording them an outlet for work of productive scholarship in this field. With more enterprise of this nature on the part of Catholic institutions of higher learning in the country we shall have, what we scarcely have at present, an adequate number of Catholic students, lay and clerical, inspired with a noble ambition to devote themselves to what may be correctly called the historian's profession.

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CONTENTS

EARLY EXPLORERS OF THE SOUTHWEST	<i>Paul J. Foik</i> 199
PORT WASHINGTON DRAFT RIOT OF 1862	<i>Peter Leo Johnson</i> 212
IRISH IMMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA, II	<i>Howard Eston Egan</i> 223
MISSION SAN JUAN BAPTISTA	<i>May Stanislaus Corcoran</i> 246
DOCUMENTS—PLANS OF FORT ORLEANS	<i>Mare de Villiers du Terrage</i> 260
NEWS AND COMMENTS	264
DEDICATION OF MARQUETTE-JOLLIET MONUMENT . .	<i>Frederic Siedenburg</i> 266
BOOK REVIEWS	272
Ford, <i>My Minnesota</i>; Merriam, <i>Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics</i>; Gallery, <i>Life of William J. Onahan</i>; Corrigan, <i>Die Kongregation De Propaganda Fide und ihre Tatigkeit in Nord-America</i>; Boyd, <i>Mad Anthony Wayne</i>; Mace, <i>American History</i>; Townsend, <i>Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town</i>; Wood and Gabriel, <i>In Defense of Liberty (Pageant of America)</i>; James, <i>The Raven, A Life Story of Sam Houston</i>; Sullivan and Logie, <i>Story of the Old Spanish Missions of the Southwest</i>.	

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EARLY EXPLORERS OF THE SOUTHWEST

Like an Arabian Night's tale does the story of the shipwrecked Spaniards of the ill-fated Narvaez Expedition to America unfold itself.¹ During the voyage and attempted explorations most of the party were lost. Encouraged and stimulated by the great achievements of other conquistadores and wishing to obtain fame equal to that of Cortes, Panfilo de Narvaez projected a settlement to be made in the territory bordering on the Gulf of Mexico, which had previously been discovered by Francis de Garay, Governor of the Island of Jamaica. Five vessels, containing about six hundred persons, embarked from Spain on June 17, 1527. Along with these prospective settlers came some secular priests and five Franciscan friars. The commissary of these religious was Padre Juan Xuarez. Another member who wished to exercise his religious zeal was Fray Juan de Palos, a lay brother. He was one of the original band of missionaries, the first foundation of the Franciscans in Mexico. Ac-

¹ Nuñez, Alvar (Cabeça de Vaca), *La Relacion que dio; ibid, Relacion de los Naufragios*; Purchas, *Collection* (English translation), Vol. XVIII; Smith, Buckingham, *Relation of Alvar Nunez Cabeça de Vaca* with appendix by John Gilmary Shea giving appreciation of the translator's work; Oviedo y Valdes, *Hist. Ind.*, lib. 35, chap. I-VII, pp. 582-618; Fernandez, Pedro; *La relacion y comentarios*; see also Barcia, Andres G., *Historiadores Primitivos de las Indias Occidentales*, Vol. I: Ardoino, Antonio; *Eramen Apologetico*; Plautus, Caspar, *Nova Typis Transacta*; Ramusio, Giovanni B., *Navigazioni et Viaggi*, III, 310-330; Ternaux-Compans, Henri, *Voyages*, serie I, tom. VII. The above references are the chief original sources for the Narvaez Expedition. Buckingham Smith's scholarly translation in English, second edition, has been carefully followed throughout.

Besides these original sources Davis, W. H., *Spanish Conquest of New Mexico*, 20-108, is helpful because of the notes and suggestions. The chief secondary materials are: Herrera, Antonio de, *Historia General* dec. IV, lib. IV, cap. V-VI; dec. VI, lib. I, cap. III-VII; lib. IX, cap. XI; Gleeson, W., *Hist. Cath. Ch.*, I, 45-64; Simpson, J. H., *Coronado's March in Smithsonian Rept.* 1869 p. 310; Lummis, Chas. F., *Spanish Pioneers*, pp. 100-117. Bancroft H., *Hist. N. Mex. States and Texas*, 60-70; Winsor, Justin, *Narr. and Crit. Hist. of Amer.*, Vol II (two articles, one by Shea, John Gilmary, *Ancient Florida*, p. 242 *et seq.*, the other by Haynes, Henry W., *Early Explorations of New Mexico*, p. 474 *et seq.*); Shea, John Gilmary; *Cath. Ch. in Col. Days*, I, 108-111.

According to Torquemada, Padre Xuarez belonged to the province of San Gabriel, and first came to America in 1523. He was soon made guardian at the convent established at Heuxalzinco, and was regarded by the Indians of that place as a most saintly man. Just before the prospective expedition he returned to Spain and received authorization from his superiors to carry the Gospel into this new field. After many months at sea Narvaez reached Santo Domingo, where in an attempt to land some of the vessels were wrecked in a storm. Some of the members of the expedition deserted at this time so that there were only three hundred and forty-five left. More violent tempests occurred in an attempt to reach the Gulf of Mexico. The commander of the fleet tried to seek shelter in the harbor of Havana, where he expected also to lay in a fresh store of provisions for the continuation of the journey, but he found it impossible, on account of poor seamanship and the heavy sea, to make the port. The ships were driven on the coast of Florida near what is now Apalache Bay. With vessels all in a battered condition and with no food in sight, the entire colony found itself in a very sad predicament. Wandering about like lost, they travelled inland and their numbers were fast being thinned by starvation, disease, and attacks by hostile Indians. Narvaez took counsel with his men, and asked each one his opinion as to the best plan of action in this dire extremity. The decision was finally reached that they should skirt the Gulf until they arrived at some Spanish settlement in Mexico. They had gone so far astray from their forced landing place that it was almost fatal for them to retrace their steps.

Without ships and in their enfeebled condition it was impossible to travel. All agreed that new vessels should be built, but there was no one who knew sufficient to construct these boats. To add to the difficulty, there were no tools or materials at hand. Gnawing hunger with its deathlike visage haunted these haggard adventurers day by day.

In that dark, grim hour that also tried men's souls their ingenuity became productive. Necessity, then as now, gave birth to invention. Bellows, supplied with pipes made from hollowed out logs and with deer skin, soon gave life and heat to the glowing forge. Stirrups, spurs and other iron articles were gathered together, and from these materials nails, saws, axes and other tools were made. The daily rations consisted of horse flesh. Two of these animals were killed every week, to condition, re-

vive and strengthen the men who labored on the boats. This work was commenced on August 4, 1528, and completed on the twentieth of September of the same year. Palm-leaf fibre and pine tree resin were used for caulking. The ropes and riggings were supplied from the manes and tails of the horses that had been slaughtered and from their tanned hides water bottles and other containers were provided.

As soon as these five boats, each thirty-five feet long, were ready, preparations were made to continue the sea voyage. On the twenty-second of September all but one horse had been consumed. The food from that day on consisted of a little raw maize. Each boat carried about fifty men and in one of these vessels Narvaez, Father Xvarez and his companions embarked. The whole party followed the Gulf coast, keeping it constantly in sight; but in spite of this precaution they were whipped and driven by terrible storms and were at the mercy of the waves.

About dawn on the sixth of November, Cabeza de Vaca, who was in charge of one of the boats, was aroused by the breaking of the surf and communicated with Narvaez about the nearness of the land. After a sounding had been taken, the boat was found to be in seven fathoms of water. Advice was given by the commander of the fleet that all should keep to sea until sunrise, but a huge wave threw De Vaca's boat violently out of the water and all the people, half-naked and half dead from cold and hunger, were aroused from their state of coma and began to crawl on hands and knees from the boat to the dry land.

The boats of Narvaez and the missionaries continued on, but the seamen who worked at the oars and sails were unskilled, and the clumsy vessels capsized with all on board. Of the clergy, only Father Asturiano escaped a watery grave, but he did not long survive his brethren. Of the gallant and fearless host, which gayly sailed away from Spain in the middle of June, 1527, only eighty now remained. These were soon reduced by famine, exposure and pestilence to fifteen, and were scattered among the Indian tribes as slaves. The place where this third shipwreck occurred was called Malhado Island or Island of Misfortune. According to some authorities Galveston is about the location where these disasters happened and where the few survivors came ashore.

Cabeza de Vaca remained on the island over a year, subject to the harshest treatment and the most painful servitude. From these arduous labors he finally escaped to the mainland. Here

he met Oviedo, another member of the ill-fated expedition and both went down the coast to the bay called Espiritu Santo, which had been noted by the earlier coastal explorers Garay and Piñeda in 1519. Oviedo returned to Malhado, but Cabeza de Vaca became a slave again in another tribe. He soon fell in with the other few survivors of the wrecked party, Andres Dorantes, Alonso de Castillo Maldonado and Estevanico, an Arabian negro, who was destined to play an important part in other exploring parties in the Southwest.

The wanderings of this group, northwestward through Texas, were directed towards the San Saba mountains, and they then proceeded due west, covering the area between that point and California. This was the first party of overland travellers in what is now the southern part of the United States.

In his own humble way De Vaca instructed the natives in the doctrines of Christianity and in the performance of good works. He was frequently called upon to heal the sick. At first he hesitated to invoke the Divine Power; but when the Indians urged him, and placed those afflicted with painful maladies and diseases before him, he was filled with confidence in God, who had been his Protector on so many recent occasions. He was fortunate enough to succeed in his first attempts. His method of curing their distress was by the laying on of hands and by the prayers of Holy Church. That these alleviations of suffering were due to supernatural interposition were the beliefs and the convictions of both the Spaniards and the Indians. The fame of the miracle man spread far and wide, and his presence was requested by many tribes. "Whatever may have been the cause of their success," says Bancroft, speaking of these wanderers in the wilderness, "it satisfactorily accounts for the safety with which they made the trip. They were received with uniform kindness by every tribe, supplied always with the best the natives had, beseiged at every town with petitions for a longer stay and exercise of their healing powers, and finally escorted to the next people on the way often by thousands of attendants."

For six years or more Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca and his companions wandered naked among the many hostile and barbarous tribes, from Florida to the Pacific Coast, enduring all the hardships of exposure and enslavement forced on them by the savages with whom they came in contact. Finally, they reached Culiacan in Sinoloa on May 1, 1536, where De Vaca related their harrowing experiences.

The news of these great discoveries in the northern wilderness spread like wild-fire. The glowing descriptions regarding wonderful places and many strange people who inhabited them were related to Antonio de Mendoza, the Viceroy of New Spain, who in turn gave the good tidings to Francisco Vasquez de Coronado, his close friend and advisor. He had recently been appointed by the Viceroy Governor of Nueva Galicia. Other eager and adventurous explorers and zealous missionaries were not lacking, who offered their services. Coronado repaired immediately to investigate still further the reports of discoveries made. He summoned to his presence three Franciscan friars and the negro Estevanico, whom he employed as guide because of his previous experience with De Vaca. He selected from the monks, Fray Marcos de Niza, because he had a knowledge of exploration, acquired under Alavarado in Peru, and because of his character and other attainments for he was one of the higher superiors of the Franciscan order in Mexico. The missionary next repaired to Mendoza, who gave him further instructions. He was ordered to make a preliminary journey, and to prepare the way for permanent occupation and settlement of the country.² As a result Fray Marcos de Niza obtained the permission of his superiors to preach the Gospel to the natives, and, moreover, received instructions from the Viceroy to penetrate still further into the land of mystery, where no white man had ever trodden. "If God, Our Lord, pleases," he said, "that you find any large town, where it seems to you that there is good opportunity for establishing a convent, and of sending religious to be employed in conversion, you are to advise me by Indians or to return in person to Culiacan. With all secrecy you are to give notice, that preparation be made without delay, because the service of our Lord and the good of the people of the land is the aim of the pacification of whatever is discovered." Padre Marcos took Estevanico, the negro, with him as a guide, for the latter had

² Niza, Marcos de, *Descubrimiento de las Siete Ciudades* in Pacheco, *Documentos ineditos*, tom. III, 325-350; Ramusio, Giovanni B., *Navigazioni*, vol. III, 354-59; Hakluyt, Richard, *Divers Voyages*, vol. III, 438; Ternaux-Compans, Henri, *Voyages*, Serie I, Tom IX, pp. 256-84, 287-90, 349-54; Herrera, Antonio de, dec. VI, Lib. VII, cap. VIII *Historia General*; Davis, W. H., *Span. Conq. N. Mex.*, 114-31; Engelhardt, Zephyrin, *The Franciscans in Arizona*, Chap. I; Bandelier, A. F., *Contributions to the History of the Southwest*; Salpointe, *Soldiers of the Cross*; Arricivita, *Chronica Seraphica*, prologo; Winship, G. P., *14th Annual Rpt. Bur. Ethnol*; Lummis, Chas. F., *Span. Pioneers*; Twitchell, R. E., *Leading facts of New Mexican History*; *ibid*, *Span. Archives N. Mex.*; Shea, J. Gilmery, *Cath. Ch. in Colonial days*, Vol. I, p. 115; Bancroft, H. H., *The North Mex. States*, 75-77; Whipple, A. W., *Rpt. Explor. Railroad*.

travelled with Cabeza de Vaca from the Gulf to the Pacific Coast. The missionary was asked to make a reconnaissance of the country through which he travelled. He was told to observe particularly the physical features, number of rivers, fertility of the soil and the minerals and precious stones. Specimens of these metals were to be gathered, reports made of the routes followed, and places visited. Finally, he was to take possession of the new country in the name of the king.

Fray Marcos gave definite information of the explorations he made. He was but three days on his journey when Fray Honoratius, his travelling companion, took sick and was left behind. He travelled for four days through the hot desert and came to a people who had no knowledge whatever of Europeans. They regarded the Franciscan in his brown religious habit as a "man sent from heaven" and in deep reverence they endeavored to touch his garment. The missionary tried to instruct them about "God in heaven and His Majesty upon earth."

It was among this tribe that Fray Marcos first heard about the seven cities of Cibola. He then travelled on for three days until he reached Vacapa, where he rested for a long time, while Estevanico accompanied by over three hundred members of the party, mostly Indians, was set in search of this region, that was described as "a country, the finest in the world."

After several days' journey, one of the cities had been reached, and a messenger was despatched back to Vacapa to inform Fray Marcos of the discovery. Three Indians also, with their faces, hands and breasts painted, came on that same day and confirmed the reports that had been made in regard to that country. Other messengers soon arrived from Estevanico, urging Fray Marcos to hasten his departure from Vacapa. As they proceeded on their way, as an escort to the missionary, they told of other great kingdoms called Marata, Acus and Totontenac. They spoke of people with finely woven cotton garments, and mantles made of skins, as well tanned as those in the most civilized countries in Europe. He journeyed on, passing through villages, in which he was kindly received, and where they brought sick people to him to be cured. He generally recited the Gospels over them. The territory that he next entered was the finest he had seen in his whole journey. He therefore took formal possession of it in the name of the king, according to instructions given by the Viceroy, and erected two crosses to mark the spot as one most desirable for later settlement.

After crossing a rich fertile valley at about 35° north latitude, a country more thickly populated, for there were hamlets almost every half league, he halted at the edge of the desert to rest for a short time. He had heard that Estevanico had passed on several days before, well provisioned, and he himself had been urged to pursue a similar course. For almost a fortnight he continued his toilsome and weary march, resting in the cabins that had recently been occupied by the negro and his escort. As Marcos and his select group trudged along the trackless waste, an Indian became visible in the distance. As he drew near, he was found to be covered with dust and sweat. Grief and terror were deeply stamped in every line of his face and mouth. He related the story of Estevanico's approach to the most famous of cities, where the chief ruler lived; how he delivered his staff of office to him as a signification of his peaceful intentions; how the governor angrily rejected this token of friendship, and threatened the entire exploration party with death should they dare to enter the city. Hungry, thirsty and fatigued, they rested near the bank of a river, but the people of Cibola attacked them, and slew nearly all the companions of the negro guide. He hid himself behind some rocks and for a while managed to avoid capture. Finally, he took to flight pursued by the people of Cibola, who caught and imprisoned him and afterwards put him to death. Estevanico, contrary to the orders of his superior, Fray Marcos, had attempted to enter the first city of Cibola, and paid the price for his disobedience.

The padre, when he heard of the misfortune that had come to the negro guide and so many other members of his expedition, was very much concerned. He trembled with fear and indignation. He was very much troubled that the ill-regulated ambition of Estevanico to reach these seven cities would also bring about his own failure to achieve his set purpose; and the thought that he would be compelled to return to Mexico without the desired information about these strange peoples and their abodes in the midst of the wilderness almost filled him with despair. This predicament was intensified by the wailings of the Indians as they heard the pitiful story.

In this agitation of mind he journeyed on, at the same time consoling his companions. Some had even threatened to desert him. He tried to placate them with presents. Here indeed was his Gethsemani. He withdrew at a short distance, fell on his

knees and prayed for an hour and a half, asking God's protection and guidance. In that bitter agony, the Indians acting as his escorts plotted the Father's death. He arose from the ground comforted, ready to meet the situation, and determined by the will of God to reach his destination should he be spared. When within a day's journey of Cibola, Fray Marcos met two more of Estevanico's Indian companions. They showed the wounds they had received from arrows and told again the story of death and destruction that had practically wiped out this advance guard of the expedition.

But the Franciscan friar was not daunted by these perils that surrounded him. His own followers noted his determination and he even persuaded two chieftains to accompany him to an elevation where he could view the marvellous city. He beheld a pueblo, "situated in a plain at the foot of a round hill, and that makes show to be a fair city." The houses "were built in order and made of stone with divers stories and flat roofs." Fray Marcos planted a cross in the centre of a heap of stones near at hand, took possession of the entire region in the name of the king, and called the country, *El Nuevo Reino de San Francisco*, The New Kingdom of St. Francis.

The journey of the friar back across the desert was sorrowful. The Indians who had acted as escorts and interpreters and had sacrificed their lives were mourned by their relatives. The padre was held indirectly responsible because he was leader of the expedition. His reception among these various tribes so alarmed him that he hastened his steps. In a short space of time he was at Compostella, where he found Coronado and also immediately informed the Viceroy of his return.

The fascinating report of Alvar Nuñez and the marvellous story of Fray Marcos de Niza kindled the enthusiasm of all Spanish adventurers to fever heat. Cortes, who had aspirations for northern explorations, became alarmed at the rivalry for fame and wealth that the new discoveries had created, fitted out a fleet, and placed Francisco de Ulloa in command. By this means he hoped to get the start of his chief competitors, but the expedition terminated disastrously.

In the meantime, Coronado was not idle. He despatched Melchor Diaz and Juan de Zandivar to verify the report made by Niza to the Viceroy. He, himself, also hastened to the capital, where Mendoza approved the entire scheme of conquest and

encouraged it by his own influence and authority.³ The glowing accounts of the friars were broadcasted everywhere. These marvellous tales, in some instances, were purposely exaggerated so as to attract members. Three hundred Spaniards, mostly men of the highest rank and best families, enlisted. To this group were added eight hundred Indians.

Fray Marcos de Niza had meanwhile been reappointed the Provincial of the Franciscan Province of the Holy Gospel and he used all the powers of his office to further the entrada, which he hoped would eventually lead to permanent settlement. Here the holy zeal of the sons of St. Francis could be exercised for the conversion of souls and the civilization of the barbarous native tribes. The pulpits everywhere rang with the startling announcement of this glorious crusade. In fact Fray Marcos

³ Pacheco, *Documentos ineditos*, tom. XIX p. 318 *et seq.* contains *Relacion del suceso de la jornada que Francisco Vasquez hizo en el descubrimiento de Cibola*. See also Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion de varios documentos; Traslado de las nuevas y noticias . . . de Cibola* in Pacheco, *Doc. ined.*, tom. XIX, p. 304 *et seq.* See also Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion*, p. 155 *et seq.* Ternaux-Compans, Henri (ed.), *Relation du Voyage de Cibola enterpris en 1540*; Castaneda, Pedro de, *Relation de Voyage de Cibola* in Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages*, 1st ser. tom. IX; Hakluyt, Richard, *Voyages*, III; Ramusio, *Navigazioni*, III, p. 395 *et seq.* contain report transmitted to Viceroy Mendoza from Cibola, entitled: *Relatione de Francisco Vazquez de Coronado del viagio alle dette setta cita* (See Hakluyt's *Voyages*, VII, p. 446 for English translation.) The Quivira Relation of Coronado in Pacheco, *Doc. ined.*, tom III, p. 363; French trans. in Ternaux-Compans, Henri, *Voyages*, IX. p. 355 *et seq.* Emory, Wm. H., *Notes of a Military Reconnoissance*; Gallatin, Albert, *Ancient Semi-civilization of N. Mex. in the Transactions Amer. Ethnolog. Soc.* Vol. II, p. liii; Bandelier, A. F.; *Hist. Intro. to Studies among the Sedentary Ind. of N. Mex. (Papers of the Archeolog. Inst. of Amer., Amer. Ser. No. 1, 1881)*, *ibid.*, *Contributions to Hist. of the Southwest*; Squier, E. G., *New Mex. and Cal. Ancient Monuments, etc.*, in *Amer. Rev.*, Nov., 1848; Simpson, J. H., *Journal of a Military Reconnoissance from Santa Fe to the Navajo Country*, in *Senate Exec. Doc. No. 64, 31st Congress, 1st Session, 1850*; *ibid.*, *Coronado's March in search of the Seven Cities of Cibola in Annual Rpt. Smithsonian Inst. 1869*. See also *Journal of Amer. Geograph. Soc.*, Vol. V, p. 194, and *Geograph. Magazine*, Vol. I, p. 86; Winship, George Parker *The Coronado Expedition in Fourteenth Annual Rpt. Bur. Ethnol.*, Part 1, pp. 329-637 (1896); Donoghue, David, *Route of the Coronado Expedition in Texas (With Map) in Southwestern Hist. Quart.*, XXXII. pp. 181-192. (Takes issue with findings of both Simpson and Winship); Whipple, A. W. and Turner, W. W., *Pacific Railroad Rpts*, III; Breckenridge, H. M., *Early discoveries by Spaniards in New Mex.*, Davis W. H. H., *El Gringo*; *ibid.*, *Span. Conquest of N. Mex.*; Twitchell, R. E., *Leading Facts of N. Mex. Hist*; *ibid.*, *Span. Archives of N. Mex.*; Bancroft, H. H., *Works especially North Mex. States*, Vol. I pp. 27, 71-76, 82-87; *New Mex. and Arizona*; Shea, John Gilmery, *Cath. Ch. in Colonial Days*; *ibid.*, *Hist. of the Cath. Missions among the Indian Tribes*; *ibid.*, *American Martyrology* (unpublished work in MS. in *Cath. Archives of Amer. at Notre Dame Univ.*; Hale, E. E., *Coronado's Discovery of the Seven Cities in Amer. Anti. Soc. Proc.*, Oct. 1877 and Oct. 1878; Haynes, Henry W., *What is the True Site of the Seven Cities of Cibola in the Proceedings of the same Society, 1878*; *ibid.*, *Early Explorations of N. Mex.*, cited above; Prince, L. Bradford, *Hist. Sketches of N. Mex.*

again set out with the Coronado expedition along with Fray Juan Padilla, Fray Juan de la Cruz and Fray Luis de Escalona, but his health was broken, and he returned in the fall of 1540 shortly after Coronado had reached Zuni in New Mexico. The trials and hardships of his first journey brought on paralysis, from which he never fully recovered. In spite of this infirmity he lived until the year 1558. According to the Chronicle of Xalisco he was revered by all as "most saintly," and his brethren esteemed him as "a very learned and religious man."

Coronado, when he reached Cibola, was greatly disappointed with what he saw. While there, some Indians came from Cicuye, seventy leagues east, and gave him descriptions of their own country. Here was found a pueblo with houses four stories high. The party was escorted into the town with great signs of joy amid the sounds of fife and drum.

Juan Jaramillo, one of the captains of the Coronado expedition, states in his *Relacion*, that he left at this place with Fray de Escalona, a slave boy named Cristobal, a Tarascan named Andres, and two negroes. These same later reported that this lay brother was killed by the older men of the place, who hated him because of his religious influence in that neighborhood.

Fray Juan Padilla, the youngest of the group of missionaries, has the distinction, however, of being the first martyr within the limits of what is now the United States. The record of Fray Juan Padilla, as a wanderer in the wilderness, is worthy of note. He travelled with Coronado to Cibola; he journeyed with Pedro de Tobar to Moqui; he then returned to Zuni; he joined Hernando de Alvarado on a thousand mile trip over vast deserts and he accompanied Coronado on his search for the mythical Quivira. Rueben Gold Thwaites thus speaks of this latter expedition:

"Disappointed, but still hoping to find the country of gold, Coronado's gallant little army, frequently thinned by death and desertion, for three years beat up and down the southwestern wilderness, now thirsting in the deserts, now penned up in gloomy cañons, now crawling over pathless mountains, suffering the horrors of starvation and of despair, but following this will o' the wisp with melancholy perseverance seldom seen in man save when searching for some mysterious treasure. 'Through mighty plains and sandy heaths,' says the chronicler of the expedition, 'smooth and wearisome and bare of wood, they travelled. All the way the plains are as full of crook-back oxen (buffaloes) as the mountain Serena in Spain is of sheep. They were a great succor for the hunger and want of bread which our people stood in. One day it rained in that plain a great shower of hail as big as oranges which caused many tears,

weakness and vows . . . Cooperating parties explored the upper valley of the Rio Grande and Gila, ascended the Colorado for two hundred and forty miles above its mouth and visited the Grand Cañon of the same river. Coronado at last returned, satisfied that he had been victimized by the idle tales of travellers. He was rewarded with contumely, and lost his place as governor of New Galicia, but the romantic march stands in history as one of the most remarkable expeditions of modern times."

Father Juan Padilla returned with Coronado from the land of the Quivirans. Unlike the other members, who were mounted, the humble padre trudged along on foot all the way back to Bernalillo. Here the missionaries resolved to devote their lives for the conversion of the Indian tribes to Christianity. Fray Juan de la Cruz had already entered upon his labors among the Pueblos. When Coronado returned to the South the padres remained in New Mexico and all merited crowns of martyrdom. Fray Padilla chose to labor among the Quiviran Indians. With him remained Andres Docampo, a soldier, Lucas and Sebastian, called Donados, and a few Mexican Indian boys. This little band plodded its way on foot back over the vast plains. At last after much wearisome travel they reached the village where Coronado had planted a large cross and here Fray Juan Padilla established his mission. His influence with the savages soon prepared their minds and hearts for the Word of God and these roving children of the prairies loved him as a father. The burning zeal of Fray Juan Padilla led him to attempt the conversion of other neighboring hostile tribes. The Quivirans had become so attached to the kind padre that they were loath to lose his religious ministrations. They also resented the action of the missionary because their bitter enemies were about to derive the benefit. But Fray Padilla was determined to go. After about one day's journey, the padre and his companions met a band of Indians on the warpath. He wished to secure the safety of everyone but himself. He had yearned for this day, which was to obtain for him a martyr's crown.

The approach of the galloping, dusty horde left but little time for action. Docampo, the soldier, still possessed his horse. The two Donados and the Mexican Indians were fleet runners.

"Flee my children," cried Fray Padilla, "Save yourselves, for me ye cannot help and why should all die together. Run!"

There was a moment of indecision. But as the padre pleaded with them again, they seemed to read the thoughts of his

heart and made good their escape. A scene was about to be enacted, where one of God's heroes was to make the supreme sacrifice of his life. Here amid these lonely surroundings was shed the blood of the proto-martyr of the United States.

Fray Padilla dropped on his knees and offered his soul to God and as he prayed the Indians pierced him from head to foot with many arrows. This new triumph of Christianity was carried back to the world by his fleeing companions. They too had many tribulations and hardships. For ten months they were compelled to live as slaves, beaten and starved almost to death. Finally, after many unsuccessful attempts they escaped from the cruel servitude of these barbarians. Amid the most terrible privations and dangers they wandered footsore and forlorn for eight long years. They zigzagged across the burning hot sands of the desert for thousands and thousands of miles, and finally found their way to Tampico, where they had been given up as lost or killed by savages. They returned, weary and broken, but they had accomplished their purpose. They brought back to civilization the glorious story of the martyrdom of Padre Juan Padilla, the proto-martyr of the United States.

Language can hardly overstate the pain, the anguish, and even despair, that must have tried the bodies and souls of these early explorers. "Cabeza de Vaca," says Lummis, "was the first to penetrate the then 'Dark Continent' of North America, as he was, by centuries, the first to cross the continent. His nine years of wandering on foot, unarmed, naked, starving among wild beasts and wilder men, with no other attendants than three as ill-fated comrades, gave the world the first glimpse of the United States inland, and led to some of the most stirring and important achievements connected with its early history. Nearly a century before the Pilgrim Fathers planted their noble commonwealth on the edge of Massachusetts, seventy-five years before the first English Settlement was made in the New World, and more than a generation before there was a single Caucasian settler of *any* blood within the area of the present United States, Vaca and his giant followers had trudged across this unknown land."

Again, speaking of Fray Marcos de Niza, John Gilmary Shea says: "He stands in history as the earliest of the priestly explorers, who unarmed and on foot penetrated into the heart of the country; . . . a barefooted friar effecting more, as

Viceroy Mendoza wrote, than well armed parties of Spaniards had been able to accomplish, and who more than three centuries and a half ago (now four) initiated a mission of the Franciscan Order which was for years to spread Christian light over the interior of the continent, long before the advance guard of Protestantism appeared in either Virginia or Massachusetts. Fray Marcos opened the way, but the mission was not effectively begun till many zealous Franciscans had laid down their lives in the attempt to win the natives to listen to the Christian doctrine of which he was the herald."

Of the expedition of Coronado, General Simpson states "For extent in distance travelled, duration of time and multiplicity of its co-operating expeditions, it equalled if it did not exceed any land expedition in modern times." The Southwest, where all this took place, contains hundreds of thousands of square miles. That country was then a vast wilderness, the cruelest wilderness conceivable. These early pioneers really took their lives in their hands. Thirst, starvation, savagery in a roadless desert! Even today, in certain parts of this great territory, the traveller looks off into endless space and sees but sandy wastelands and barren mountain peaks. Even today, to venture out on the lonely areas of New Mexico and Arizona is perilous and forbidding. But what was the situation four centuries ago for the explorer? "A journey from somewhere through the unknown to nowhere; whose starting, course, and end are all untrodden and unguessed wilds," with hardships, dangers of attacks from savage Indians and endurance added for full measure. Fortitude, bravery, heroism were necessary in that Dark Land of Mystery.

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PORT WASHINGTON DRAFT RIOT OF 1862

There can be no debate about the fact that the Civil War preserved the physical union of the United States though evidence might be submitted that a spiritual union is still in the making. This result and development very faintly hint at the difficulties which tormented North and South at the time. As late as 1864 "there were many men who believed that the war was a mistake and that Lincoln was a failure."¹ No wonder then that accidents arose concerning details. People might have pronounced pro-war convictions and still have shown determined resistance to ways and means for the conduct of the war. This may very well have been characteristic of the folk of Port Washington, Wisconsin, who took it upon themselves to resist the draft in November, 1862.

The bare facts of the riot may be itemized as follows. Due to various alleged reasons, as listed hereafter, a pent-up public sentiment burst out in mob violence at Port Washington on November 10, 1862. Some citizens, among them William A. Pors, draft commissioner, felt its fury in their property and persons and the militia rolls were seized and destroyed. Eight companies of the Twenty-eighth Regiment, stationed at Milwaukee, were dispatched to Port Washington on November 11 and succeeded by clever strategy in surrounding the scene of disturbance. Governor Salomon then issued a proclamation to the people, informing them of the law and its penalties, of the governmental right to order a draft, and of the congressional authorization to the President for the draft order. The people were advised to discontinue resistance and to submit to the lawful authorities. The provost court investigated the case of persons under arrest, and upon evidence committed eighty-one to Camp Washburn, Milwaukee. Later arrests increased the number of prisoners to about one hundred and thirty. All were finally lodged in Camp Randall, Madison, and subsequently put in charge of General Pope, who retained them for some months and then released them informally to the Government. The claims for damages of those who suffered were presented to the Wisconsin Legislature, were allowed, and charged to the Government. (See Quiner, pp. 145-147, *infra.*, note 19.)

¹ Frederic L. Paxton, *The New Nation* (New York, 1915), p. 3.

While the facts in the miniature rebellion are not so interesting as to call for a new detailed narration, the historic realities connected therewith may merit renewed inquiry with reference to the reasons generally alleged to account for the event, and room may be found for the introduction of a new one. This latter finds its basis in the lack of provision for Catholic army chaplains, a condition which had a depressing reaction in the minds of Catholics and with other circumstances evoked hostile action against one governmental effort. Aiming at more light rather than more heat, this treatment harbors no objective that is in any way connected with justification of the riot.

Any consideration of the events in question should dwell upon the political and economic background of the people, who were for the most part German. Time alone could wean most of them from the Austrian political ideal and program of confederation rather than union, a politics that was only partly disabled at Sadowa. The militaristic nightmare of Napoleon, Metternich and Bismarck was to have no counterpart in America to those who survived it and who were determined to cross the ocean in order that their children might escape it. Moreover, the land about Port Washington reluctantly yielded to steady labor and from an economic standpoint could not be left behind without serious harm to families which otherwise might have readily given up their sons and fathers.²

The situation probably would have been very different if it had involved a war to repel a foreign invader. The issue of union as against confederation was by no means clear to the people antecedently and was at the time actually topsy-turvy as a result of political oratory and propaganda. The Germans were Democrats and depended upon limited and unreliable sources of information. Union Democrats met with no sympathy in the party which was run by Copperheads, and these latter had bed-fellows aplenty in the numbers of conservative Republicans who were willing to maintain any position regarding slavery as long as they could hold office. Henry Adams refused to entertain ethics when his hero, Charles Sumner, great anti-slavery orator, traded his way into office through a deal with Democrats and Free Soilers.³

² Joseph Schafer, *Four Wisconsin Counties* (Madison, 1927), pp. 159-160.

³ Henry Adams, *The Education of Henry Adams* (New York, 1927), pp. 49-51.

The German papers were as a rule Democratic and cannot be held as more than secondary accomplices in the matter. The primary sources of disturbance were the Democratic journals, which poured out inflammatory speeches and articles against the government, conscription and war.⁴ The Republican party, represented by such men as Lincoln, is commonly pictured as not very emphatic in its opposition to slavery and as adopting very slowly this policy only as a war measure.⁵ Lincoln's action regarding Fremont's abolition proclamation illustrates the politics followed in the matter. The President was trying to hold Kentucky to the Union and thought a rigid abolition policy would spoil his plans.⁶ Even pro-slavery Democrats were not adverse to straddling as may be seen in their deal with the anti-slavery Free Soilers in 1848. Politics therefore did not serve to answer the query at the time, which is right, the North or the South?

The Republican party of the time was favorable to the Catholics, but its antecedents made it hard for it to live these down. The Republican party was marked pretty evidently with the stripes of Nativism, Abolitionism and Know-nothingism. Even humble Catholics knew enough recent history to be at least shy when approached by an organization connected with the foregoing anti-Catholic movements. Nativism represented one brutal act, the burning of the Ursuline Convent at Charleston, Massachusetts, in 1832. The fact that the Philadelphia riots of 1844 confirmed the brutality was not calculated to diminish Catholic shyness. Abolition was considered as one attempt of the British aristocracy to split a growing democracy, and abolition in the United Kingdom was considered as a blow, as it was, to the equally menacing middle class in England. Slavery under such conditions became a purely political question.⁷ Catholics had no reason to sympathize with the northern Abolitionists, whose other and older name was Puritans, an ominous name in America at least from some angles. "Slavery," wrote Henry Adams, "drove the whole Puritan community back on its Puritanism. . . . The slave power took the place of . . . Ro-

⁴ Brownson's *Quarterly*, IV, Third New York Series (October, 1863), pp. 335ff.

⁵ Brownson, *op. cit.*, II, Third New York Series (July, 1861), pp. 378ff.

⁶ Brownson, *op. cit.*, IV, Third New York Series (January, 1863), pp. 88ff.; James Ford Rhodes, *History of the United States, 1860-1862*, (New York, 1895), III, pp. 471-472.

⁷ Brownson, *op. cit.*, II, Third New York Series (October, 1861), pp. 510ff.

man popes.”⁸ On the other hand James Ford Rhodes, commenting on an excerpt of Lincoln’s second Inaugural, felt justified in entertaining the supposition that if the Puritan had settled in the South and Cavalier in the North, “it is possible the former would have fought for slavery.”⁹ Men of the North generally regarded slavery as an evil, but a greater evil loomed up with emancipation for this must logically lead to the granting of civil rights, and this to the possibility of the whites being outvoted, a situation hardly satisfactory.¹⁰ The South has in some instances effectively nullified the civil rights which did follow in the course of time.

The abolition movement discouraged adherence because it showed no well directed effort. In 1833 fifty or sixty persons, mostly young men, organized the American Anti-slavery Society in Philadelphia. All the South and nearly all of the North regarded the meeting “in much the same as we should now look upon an assembly of anarchists.”¹¹ The Republican party owed its success to a union with Knownothings, who were not likely to aid in making good Republicans out of traditional Catholic Democrats. The Democratic party in its long tenure of office had been generally more liberal to foreigners than Republicans, and less illiberal to Catholics.¹² Added to the foregoing was the early alliance between the German Forty-eighters and the Republicans, whose common love for slaves was held under grave suspicion by German Catholics, who had been hated long enough and even recently by both. The literature of the Forty-eighters in the decade before the war offers a rare example of extreme antagonism to Catholic Germans.¹³

Catholic newspapers as a rule were solid in their reprobation of slavery from a moral standpoint, but repudiated abolition and war as a means to remedy it and were content to tolerate the situation until some better day would right it. This attitude may

⁸ Adams, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁹ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, I, p. 381.

¹⁰ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 365-366.

¹¹ Rhodes, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 381, 59-60.

¹² Brownson, *op. cit.*, IV, Third New York Series (October, 1863), pp. 385ff.

¹³ *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung* (Wien, 1830), XXVII (1855), p. 84.

See the anti-Catholic German papers of Milwaukee, the *Flugblaetter* (1852-1854), the *Volksfreund* and the *Banner*.

be said to have characterized the Catholic clergy too.¹⁴ When Pope Gregory XVI formally condemned the slave trade in 1840, abolitionists were quick to interpret the condemnation as favorable to their cause; but Bishop England gave an interpretation to the Pope's *Encyclical* which was acceptable to the American Hierarchy and Rome. He maintained in brief that the Pope merely condemned the slave trade but did not include the domestic slave system as then existent in the United States.¹⁵

So it can easily be seen that the antecedents of the German Catholics respecting politics in the fatherland, their attitude towards compulsory military service and their economic advancement in their new home, were forcibly seconded by political history, partisan press and clerical leadership in the United States.

Some local conditions were highly charged with provocation to resistance to the governmental draft order. It seems hard to reconcile with justice the largest proportional draft quota of any county in the state with the backwardness of local farming. The probable lack of tact on the part of Governor Salomon in the appointment of a draft commissioner and examining surgeon other than those formally selected by a representative meeting and formally presented to him for appointment, had an unfavorable effect on the people. His appointees apparently made egregious blunders with respect to administering the draft without which the riot would not have taken place. Dissatisfaction arose over the manner in which the medical examinations were conducted, which were alleged as partial in the matter of exemption to those in position and wealth. This feeling grew until the lists were completed and the day for drafting arrived and then public sentiment created a mob.¹⁶

¹⁴ Brownson, *op. cit.*, IV, Third New York Series (July, 1863), pp. 367ff. See *Der Milwaukee Seebote* (1852-), family paper for many Catholics, for views current on abolition, the government, slavery, how it met the charge of secession made against it, and particularly for its dependance on the English (language) press, in its issues between January 22, 1862 and February 19, 1862. There is a representative view of the Catholic attitude towards the war in *The Month*, edited at the University of St. Mary of the Lake, Chicago, II (July, 1865), pp. 1-14.

¹⁵ *The Month*, II (August, 1865), pp. 97-118 for article, "Bishop England on Domestic Slavery;" *Letters of Bishop England to Honorable John Forsyth on the Subject of Domestic Slavery* (Baltimore, 1844); *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society*, XXXV (1924), pp. 325-344.

¹⁶ Schafer, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163; *History of Washington and Ozaukee Counties* (Chicago, 1881), pp. 493-495; *Wisconsin in Three Centuries*, 4 vols. (New York, n.d.), III, pp. 225-228.

The stage is now set to introduce a new factor into the drama. The glory of the United States was civic rather than militaristic, and as a result of this and other circumstances, the Federal army was made up of state units, which were never federalized in the strict sense, bringing in consequence a decentralized control, which is so harmful in many ways to a military organization. One great drawback was the lack of Federal control in the appointment of officers and chaplains, a prerogative which the state militia jealously guarded. Some critics look very unfavorably upon a volunteer system for maintaining a great force because it does not put the duty of service squarely up to every citizen; it is worked by bonuses which often make the service mercenary and it somehow or other is inextricably connected with an elective method, which indeed on the surface is democratic, but becomes in the long run so selective as to be exclusive.¹⁷

The organization of an early Wisconsin military unit, the Milwaukee Light Guard, helps to reveal how chaplains were generally given military office. While the constitution of the foregoing group visualized a company only, extension thereof was implicitly provided for. Provision was made for officers by election in Article V. When steps were taken on April 4, 1857 to organize a battalion, the Reverend P. T. Imgraham was elected chaplain.¹⁸ Being a volunteer organization in peace time, it controlled the officers' personnel, and when called into service by the state or nation to meet an emergency, its officers by election, which was equivalent to nomination, were recognized as such by State or Federal appointment.

What happened in the several states may be seen from a typical action in Wisconsin. Governor Randall issued a proclamation on April 22, 1861, in which he urged the formation of volunteer companies in every locality and added, "When such companies are full, if infantrymen, let them elect a captain, lieutenant and ensign, and report to the Adjutant General for commissions . . ." Company officers were required to muster their men into the State service prior to mustering them into the Federal service. There was an exception in one respect and this regarded the raising of cavalry outfits in Wisconsin. These were authorized to be raised by the Federal government independently of the

¹⁷ Brownson, *op. cit.*, IV, Third New York Series (January, 1863), pp. 55ff.

¹⁸ Herbert C. Damon, *History of the Milwaukee Light Guard* (Milwaukee, 1875), pp. 26, 64.

State, though indeed commissions were issued by the State.¹⁹ There is good reason to believe that the confusion about the status of chaplains which persisted nearly throughout the war, had something to do with the lack of foresight in providing them. There is no record of the provision of a chaplain for the First Wisconsin Regiment, which went at the President's call for three months volunteers. This may be explained by the following excerpt of a letter written on July 20, 1861, by Governor O. P. Morton of Indiana to the chief clerk of the War Department, "Paymasters refuse to pay chaplains for the returned three months regiments. . . . I think they should be paid."²⁰

An order emanating from the War Department in 1864, based on an Act of Congress April 9, 1864, amended an Act of Congress of July 17, 1862, so as to include chaplains in the regular and volunteer forces of the army. Section 1 of the new act of congress recognized the rank of chaplain *without command* in the regular and volunteer service. The wording "without command" was deemed indefinite. Prior to April 9, 1864, chaplains were in the anomalous position of being neither commissioned officers nor enlisted men. Probably the Act of April 9, 1864, intended to rescue them from this position by placing them on the records as members of the non-combatant commissioned staff, but the Act left the impression that chaplains were given a new rank as between a major and captain. The Secretary of War in his report to the President, March 1, 1865, wrote that the former assimilated rank of chaplains, in reference to allowance of quarters and pay, was "captain," and such should now be their rank.²¹

The lack of federal control, the volunteer system, the elective method in vogue in the states, with appointments in the hands of governors, and the undetermined status of chaplains, all contributed to the alarming insufficiency of Catholic army chaplains in the Union army.

About one year after the war began, the War Department reported a total of 472 chaplains, of whom twenty-two were Catho-

¹⁹ E. B. Quiner, *The Military History of Wisconsin* (Chicago, 1866), pp. 57, 59, 79.

²⁰ *War of Rebellion, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series III, vol. I, p. 368; *ibid.*, p. 375. Paymasters were directed to pay to chaplains of the volunteers the same pay as to regular chaplains.

²¹ *Official Records*, Series III, vol. IV, pp. 227-228; 809; 1206-1207.

lic. This disproportionate figure is made more so when one reflects that one-fifth (100,000) of the army was Catholic.²²

Naturally such a situation caused a profound anxiety among Catholics, who looked to the President for a solution of it. The War Department could do nothing without the authorization of Congress, which in turn would do nothing to take the matter out of the control of the States. The House of Representatives refused to pass a bill introduced on June 12, 1861, to muster out regimental chaplains, and to give the President the right of appointing chaplains to brigades. He was given power to appoint chaplains to permanent hospitals.²³ This concession probably referred to regular army hospitals because in his first Annual Message, December 3, 1861, President Lincoln said, "by mere omission, I presume, Congress has failed to provide chaplains for hospitals occupied by volunteers." He stated that he had taken the initiative in the affair and recommended that such chaplains "be compensated at the same rate as chaplains in the army." He added, "I further suggest that general provision be made for chaplains to serve at hospitals as well as with the regiments."²⁴

In view of the President's suggestion that "general provision be made for chaplains" in December, it is probable that prior enactments were insufficient. A general order No. 15, May 4, 1861, contained a plan of organization for volunteer forces in which it is ordered that each regiment shall have one chaplain, "who will be appointed by the regimental commander on the vote of the field officers and company commanders on duty with the regiment at the time the appointment was made. The chaplain so appointed must be a regularly ordained minister of some Christian denomination, and will receive the pay and allowance of a captain of cavalry." The same regulation was applied to the regular regiments.²⁵ General order No. 54, August 10, 1861, indicates an effort to place power of appointment of chaplains to regular regiments in the President's hands, for in section 6, it is declared, "That one chaplain shall be allowed to each regiment of the army, to be selected and appointed as the President may

²² *Der Wahrheitsfreund* (Cincinnati, 1837-1907), issues of April 30, 1862 and August 6, 1862. Hereafter referred to as *WHF*.

²³ *WHF* (August 6, 1862).

²⁴ *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1797-1897* (Washington, 1900), VI, p. 48; *Official Records*, Series III, vol. I, pp. 709, 721. The President of the Confederate States was given the power to appoint chaplains on May 3, 1861, and this power was increased according to needs throughout the war. See *Official Records*, Series IV, vol. I, pp. 275, 766, 595, 1076, 247, 252; *ibid.*, vol. III, p. 496.

²⁵ *Official Records*, Series III, vol. I, pp. 151-154. 157.

direct." Furthermore it provided that only Christians were eligible.²⁶

The President was alive to the importance of having Catholic chaplains. In September, 1861, he pointed this out by suggesting that a priest be appointed to serve with every division, in which he was seconded by General McClellan. The editor of the *Wahrheitsfreund* urged Catholics to ask Congress to follow the idea of the President. He stated that Catholics would be satisfied with an arrangement which would provide a Catholic chaplain for each division.²⁷ The Federal government tried to remedy the matter but was effectively blocked by the existing state practice. In the course of events it was natural for some states to try to meet the need for Catholic chaplains. Minnesota had many Catholic soldiers in its regiments and commissioned the Reverend John Ireland to serve as a special chaplain for all its regiments. The Governor of Connecticut ordered that two chaplains be commissioned for every brigade. The order was approved by the Connecticut Legislature.²⁸

The reports coming from many camps respecting the lack of Catholic chaplains caused Catholic leaders and priests to volunteer their services on a civilian basis. It will be observed in the course of this paper that Wisconsin tried to meet the situation in this way. Wisconsin was ill equipped with Catholic chaplains and as a result there was a natural reaction of regret, resentment and complaint among Catholics.

Wisconsin organized fifty-three infantry regiments, four cavalry regiments, all of which were provided with chaplains, except the Fifty-First, Second and Third Infantries; and fourteen Batteries, none of which had an assigned chaplain.²⁹ Some 90,000 soldiers from Wisconsin served the Union cause. Out of eighty commissioned chaplains, two were Catholic, the Reverend Napoleon Mignault (17th Inf.) of Duck Creek, and Francis Fusseder (24th and 17th Inf.) of Port Washington. It is interesting to note the fine service of these men. Chaplain Mignault was commissioned on December 11, 1861, mustered into the service of the United States on March 19, 1862 and resigned on account of disability on February 9, 1864. Chaplain Fusseder was commissioned on September 3, 1862, mustered in on the 22nd of September, 1862, and mustered out July 28, 1863. He was re-

²⁶ *Official Records*, Series III, vol. I, pp. 395-396, 398.

²⁷ *WHF* (August 6, 1862). A division comprised 10,000-15,000 men.

²⁸ *WHF* (July 30, 1862; May 23, 1861; August 1, 1861).

²⁹ Wm. DeLoss Love, *Wisconsin in the War of Rebellion* (Chicago, 1866), *passim*.

commissioned July 14, 1864, mustered in on the same date, and mustered out with the Seventeenth Infantry July 14, 1865.³⁰

On October 29, 1861, Louis P. Harvey, Secretary of State for Wisconsin, called on Bishop Henni to secure the services of the Reverend George T. Riordan of Kenosha as chaplain of the Seventeenth Infantry. The Secretary informed the Bishop that this was the expressed desire of its Colonel and men. The Bishop assured Mr. Harvey that he would grant Father Riordan the necessary permission. It is not known why Father Riordan was not commissioned. There is reason to think that the preliminaries involving him as chaplain of the Irish Regiment (17th) helped to fill up its ranks, because later on the presence of Chaplain Mignault on its roster aided enlistments though of course the Irish enlisted in other regiments also.³¹

The lack of Catholic chaplains produced a state of mind generally which is strikingly laid bare in the following excerpt of a letter written by a German Catholic soldier of Wisconsin to the Milwaukee *Seebote!* "I wish to call your attention to one thing, which is: Where is the German chaplain who was appointed last fall? After his appointment became known to Catholic soldiers, recruiting was noticeably better, and [now] we Catholics are very abandoned. No regard is taken of the practice of our religion except in the Seventeenth regiment. We should have been told of this situation beforehand so as to have known what we were going into. I know of many who were induced to join the army because a priest was appointed for us. If these lines should reach the proper authority, it would be no more than right to tell us why we no longer have him with us ever since we left Milwaukee. . . ." ³²

A good deal of light is thrown on the foregoing and on the general topic of this paper by a communication to the *Seebote* from the Reverend Francis Fusseder, who was implicated. He wrote, "First of all I wish to state that I did not offer my services. Two recruiting officers approached me last fall with the question, why so few Catholics enlisted. I answered simply that a Catholic wants the consolations of his religion in the hour of danger and death, but particularly in war, though ordinarily he may not be a practical Catholic. According to my judgment this accounts for the German Catholic reluctance to enlist."

³⁰ Love, *op. cit.*; *Records* of the AGO (Wisconsin); *WHF* (October 8, 1862).

³¹ *WHF* (November 14, 1861; August 6, 1862).

³² *WHF* (August 6, 1862).

Father Fusseder implied that a Catholic did not have a chance to enjoy the comforts of his church when he wanted them most,—in war. He continued in his letter: "I received a commission privately after two or three weeks as 'visiting chaplain for the Catholic soldiers of Wisconsin volunteers in active service,' with a notification to be ready in a few weeks. I arranged my affairs for the service and made weekly visits to the camps near Milwaukee. The Bishop indeed preferred to have another priest go, but finally I received his permission, and at New Year's time [1862] I went to see Governor Harvey in Madison, but only received fine words. At last I wrote to Governor Salomon about what I was to do concerning my commission, and consider the answer, "There exists no law for such an appointment and the affair amounts to a kind of compliment or commendation. If I desired to visit the regiments at my own expense, verily a commission would be necessary, in the form of a permission granted by the respective military authorities." ³³

Father Fusseder was the pastor at Port Washington and it is possible that what he wrote was known to his flock. Although he received a commission on September, 3, 1862, a year had flown by and in the interval much local dissatisfaction could have been aroused over the distressing question of the lack of Catholic army chaplains. Supposing however that his case were not known generally, the situation was an open one in the press, and there can be no doubt about the anxiety in the minds and hearts of those who had fathers, sons, or sweethearts to offer to the cause of the Union, and just as little doubt about the perplexity in the soul of every Catholic man who enlisted or was to be drafted.

In the course of this paper the various alleged reasons for the draft riot have been outlined. Many will believe that the lack of provision for army chaplains outweighs any other, perhaps all, because it is concerned with the imponderable, intangible and spiritual forces and elements in a man. There are some who think that it was an element of anti-Catholicism which brought about a dearth of Catholic chaplains. Be this as it may, there can be no doubt about the part played by the existent army organization with its emphasis on election for nomination, and on appointment by the respective states.

St. Francis, Wis.

PETER LEO JOHNSON

³³ *WHF, loc. cit.*

IRISH IMMIGRATION TO MINNESOTA, 1865-1890
(Continued)

V

THE SWEETMAN COLONY OF CURRIE, MURRAY COUNTY, MINNESOTA,
AND THE WORK OF THE IRISH AMERICAN COLONIZATION
COMPANY IN THIS COLONY

That the Irish Catholic Colonization Association and the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota have done much towards the spiritual and economic advance of this State during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, is a subject of general information to the student of immigration. But that there were colonization companies organized in Ireland for the purpose of assisting the native Irish to come to America, is not so well known.

Murray County, in the southwestern part of this State, owes a great debt of gratitude to a cultured Irish gentleman of vast wealth, Mr. John Sweetman, of County Meath, Ireland. It was this statesman and philanthropist who wrote in 1871, "The tenant farmers are strong enough to help themselves if they only knew it. Individually they are certainly at the mercy of their landlords, but collectively they are quite a match for them."¹

Later, in 1877, when he was taking an active part in trying to organize a Farmers' Union, he wrote, "The land will never be properly cultivated until farmers have security of tenure² and people will never be contented until they have some stake in the country."³

It was this man, also, who at the time of its origin was an active promoter of the newly organized Land League of Dublin in 1879. The objects of this league were to facilitate ownership of the soil by tenants, and to bring about a reduction of "rack-rents."⁴

In December, 1879, there was much poverty and distress in County Meath. "The gradual drop in the value of cattle, after

¹ Sweetman, *The Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 41.

² This ambition was realized, as has been shown, in the Land Act of 1881.

³ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

the inflated prices during the early seventies, compelled the graziers and farmers to lessen their expenses, and they did this by not employing labor."⁵ Many of the inhabitants were near starvation, for the daily wage, if work could be found at all, was a shilling a day. It was in view of such circumstance that Mr. Sweetman turned his attention to America, where a good Irish worker could secure six shillings a day.⁶

Since his mother had only recently died, this wealthy Irish bachelor, accompanied by a friend, left Dublin for America on April 8, 1880. From his diary account of this trip, there is an interesting narrative, not only of his voyage across the ocean and inland to St. Paul by way of Halifax, Toronto, Detroit, and Chicago, but also of his search for colonization lands in our western States and in Canada. "We arrived here (St. Paul) Friday, April 23rd, . . ." writes Mr. Sweetman, "just a fortnight since leaving Londonderry, having only delayed for twenty hours at Toronto."⁷

"That evening I called on the Catholic Colonization Bureau and presented a letter of introduction from the Archbishop of Dublin to Dr. Ireland, the Coadjutor Bishop of St. Paul, and the head of the Catholic Colonization Bureau. He received me most cordially and listened most attentively as I was explaining the object of my visit, which was to find out what prospects Irish immigrants would have in Western States. He explained to me how anxious he had been to induce the Irish who were congregated in the large cities of America to take farms in the West where they would get the best of land for next to nothing. . . . He told me that their Bureau at St. Paul could find work for laborers with farmers at four pounds the month and their board, and that they could get farms of 160 acres and have plenty to start well on, if they had 200 pounds to begin with.⁸ He advised me to go and see the Catholic colonies⁹ myself, and

⁵ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 43.

⁷ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 43-46.

⁸ This necessary capital outlay undoubtedly restricted immigration, but brought to Minnesota a superior type of settler.

⁹ See footnote 10 for the names of these colonies.

instructed Mr. Dillon O'Brien, the Secretary, to give me letters of introduction to the resident priests of the several colonies."¹⁰

Mr. Sweetman remained in St. Paul for a few days in order to be in immediate contact with Dr. Ireland and his business secretary. The Bishop was surprised to hear that very little was known of his Minnesota Bureau in the old country,¹¹ for in a letter to the President of the Board of Colonization of the Irish Benevolent Union on September 6, 1876, he had pictured the prosperity which had come to Irish settlers who had arrived in Minnesota twenty years before. In this same letter he appealed for the formation of national bureaus in Ireland, and for the formation of joint stock companies for the purpose of assisting Irish immigrants to America.¹²

To Dr. Ireland the organization and operation of joint stock companies and colonizing bureaus was very simple. The Bureau would have a large tract of land reserved by a railroad company for those recommended by it. The land would be sold to the colonists by the Bureau, either on a commission basis at a set rate of \$4 an acre, or at a price a little above the amount demanded by the railroad company. Since this system had been carried out in the five colonies already promoted by the Minnesota Bureau, Mr. Sweetman encouraged the Bishop to establish a branch office in Ireland in order to disseminate information concerning the great agricultural opportunities in Minnesota.¹³

"Mr. O'Brien took up very warmly my idea that something more should be done for the poor emigrants who have not the two hundred pounds to enable them to start farms for themselves,"¹⁴ says Mr. Sweetman. But Bishop Ireland had recognized this fact some years previous, when in his correspondence concerning colonization, he made it plain that his plan did not reach the poor. Many Irish settlers had the necessary money

¹⁰ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 46-47; Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, in *The Minnesota Historical Collections*, XVII, 340, 364, 376.

There were five colonies promoted by the Minnesota Colonization Bureau by 1880: DeGraff and Contarf in Swift County; Adrian in Nobles County; Avoca in Murray County; and Minnesota in Lyon County. Schaefer, *A History of the Diocese of St. Paul*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1915, 67.

¹¹ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 47.

¹² *Colonization and Future Emigration*, in *The Catholic World*, XXV, April 1877-Sept. 1877, 685-688.

¹³ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 47. This has been pointed out in Chapter II. Sweetman makes no mention of the sale of land by the Minnesota Bureau at a price above that demanded by the railroad company.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 47.

to bring them West, but few of them could buy land, or even support themselves until the harvesting of the first crop.¹⁵

But before any definite plans for improved conditions for future Irish immigrants were formulated, Mr. Sweetman desired to investigate the land and the general environment in some of the colonies already established. On Monday, April 27, (1880), therefore, Sweetman and his traveling associate left St. Paul for the Avoca Colony in Murray County, where the Minnesota Bureau had about 60,000 acres of land. They found Avoca to be a thriving little Irish village which had been in existence for a year or two.¹⁶ The store-keepers were very "civil and obliging," and the young Austrian priest in charge of the colony, Rev. Charles Koeberl, gave them all the assistance he possibly could. They inspected the lands, buildings, and general conditions in the Avoca Colony until Wednesday, when they took a train for Heron Lake, twenty miles from this colony and about one hundred and fifty miles from St. Paul. They did not stop at Heron Lake, however, but went on to Worthington to spend the night. The next morning they met Hugh O'Callaghan of Dublin, and his brother-in-law, one Mr. Murphy, who were inspecting the colonies like themselves. After breakfast Thursday morning, the party of four went by train to the Adrian Colony in Nobles County. "My impression on arriving at Adrian," says Sweetman, "was that the land was not nearly so good as at Avoca, lighter and sandier, . . . However, afterwards we found that the worst land was just near the station. We called on the priest (Rev. C. J. Knauf), another nice German gentleman. We . . . joined in hiring a vehicle, and drove some six miles off through the colonies which made us change our first estimate of the quality of the soil, as it was certainly very fine."¹⁷

After making a thorough investigation of the Adrian Colony, Mr. Sweetman and his companion⁸¹ went back to Worthington, and from there to Minnesota, another Catholic colony. There they were so well pleased with the district that they asked the priest, Father M. J. Hanley, to reserve 640 acres of land until

¹⁵ *Colonization and Future Emigration*, in *The Catholic World*, XXV, 688; J. P. Maguire, *The Irish in America*, 214-215.

¹⁶ Drr. Upham, in *Minnesota Geographic Names*, Vol. 17 of *The Minnesota Historical Collections*, 364, says that Avoca was established in 1879 by Bishop Ireland, who promoted a Catholic colony in its vicinity in that year.

¹⁷ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 48-50.

¹⁸ O'Callaghan and Murphy went to Avoca, where Murphy bought 300 acres of land. *Ibid.*, 52.

the tour of inspection was finished. Sweetman's idea at the moment was to begin farming in Minnesota himself, but he soon decided that the cultivation of wheat under a hired manager would prove unprofitable. After a couple of days' inspection they returned to St. Paul to confer with the Bishop and Mr. O'Brien. Sweetman bought 160 acres of Minnesota land for a former steward of his, holding a mortgage on the land until the steward paid off the cost, plus some money which had been loaned to him.¹⁹

Mr. Sweetman did not remain long in St. Paul, for he wanted to investigate the possibilities of placing Irish immigrants in or around Winnipeg. He had a letter of introduction from Bishop Ireland to the Archbishop of the diocese in which Winnipeg was then located, but it was apparent that the Canadian churchman was not enthusiastic in recommending Manitoba as a place suitable for Irish immigrants. The Government Emigration Agent was next consulted, and he recommended Turtle Mountain, a place about one hundred miles from Emerson²⁰ as being a most favorable location for poor Irish settlers. Although every effort was made to make the trip to Turtle Mountain, obstacles were confronted on every side, so they left Manitoba in disgust.²¹

After leaving Canada Mr. Sweetman and his companion went to Glyndon, which is located near Moorhead, in Clay County, Minnesota; from there they visited Fargo and Bismark in Dakota Territory, as was related before. While visiting in Bismark, Sweetman discussed with the resident priest, Father Faffa, a plan whereby a land company might purchase a vast area of land and advance sufficient money to poor Irish colonists to enable them to start farming in the West, with the provision that the principal and interest on the company's investment be paid by small annual payments.²² When he got back to St. Paul, the prospective Irish colonizer discussed his plan in more detail with Bishop Ireland, who approved of it in general, but doubted if such a plan would ever be accepted by American financiers, who insisted on a very high rate of interest.²³

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 52.

²⁰ Emerson is located in Manitoba, just south of Winnipeg, near the international border. Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 55n.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 55-58.

²² *Ibid.*, 57.

²³ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, p. 57.

After a final trip to the Dakota Territory, this time to Watertown and its unproductive vicinity, Mr. Sweetman and Dillon O'Brien, who accompanied him again, returned to St. Paul. Without any delay, the notable Irish land-seeker, in company again with O'Brien, departed for the Avoca Colony, from which place they went to Currie, a small village eight miles away. They were both decidedly impressed by the exceptional character of the land around the little village. In fact, Mr. Sweetman was so much impressed that he decided to buy some of the land before returning to Ireland. As a result of this decision, he agreed with the Winona and St. Peter Railroad Company to buy ten thousand acres of Currie land at an average price of one pound per acre.²⁴

After the immediate business connected with this transaction was concluded in St. Paul, Sweetman and his associate left for Ireland on June 7, arriving at Londonderry twenty days later. "Here ends my diary written thirty-one years ago," says the Irish philanthropist. "It shows my first impressions of America, which have not changed very much except as to the American climate, which, after twelve years experience at Currie, I hated, and wished for our 'damp and cloudy atmosphere' of Ireland."²⁵

Had Mr. Sweetman never returned to America to develop his newly acquired land, we should be indebted to him for the best written account, now extant, of the Irish colonies in the West. But, judging from the opinions of Minnesota men who were associated with him at his Currie Colony, he was not the type of man who would leave any project unfinished.²⁶ In consequence of this attribute of Mr. Sweetman's character, he began the organization of The Irish American Colonization Company, Limited, with its head office located at 12 S. Frederick Street, Dublin. The Board of Directors consisted of Lieutenant Colonel Butler, Right Hon. W. H. F. Cogan, Lieutenant Colonel Dease, R. H. Froude, Rt. Rev. John Ireland, George Ryan, Lattin Thunder, and John Sweetman. The officers in America were the

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 57, 59.

²⁵ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, p. 59-61.

²⁶ The late J. P. O'Connor and Mr. Walter Sweetman, John's learned cousin, now living at 984 Ashland Ave., St. Paul, have the highest words of praise for this great Irish leader.

Right Rev. John Ireland, St. Paul agent; John Sweetman, Managing Director; and J. P. O'Connor, Superintendent.²⁷

In writing about this company, which began to function in March, 1881, Sweetman says, "In the Provisional Prospectus I wrote: In the Western States of America vast tracts of magnificent tillage lands are still unoccupied, affording a most favorable opening for capital and labour combined. These lands will not, however, long remain unsettled, owing to the large immigration from the Eastern States of America, and from Germany, Norway, and Sweden. Great numbers of able bodied men are now emigrating from Ireland, who, for want of capital, cannot settle on these lands. This company has been formed for the purpose of supplying the want of capital. It will purchase lands in suitable localities, and place settlers on it, providing them with what they require for a fair start. A mortgage will be held on the land and on the implements, stock and effects on the farm, until the settler has paid, by such installments as may be agreed on, the purchase money, and sum advanced with a fair interest."²⁸

Due to the fact that most of the promoters were apparently men of influence in governmental or spiritual affairs, arrangement for the functioning of this new venture was soon made. During the autumn of 1880, Mr. Sweetman again came to Minnesota to make final arrangements for the sending of the first group of Irish settlers in the spring of 1881. After the essential preparations had been made, he returned to Ireland in order to accompany his colonists to Currie, in Murray County, early the next spring. Then, with the assistance of his able Superintendent, J. P. O'Connor, he worked from early morning until late at night for many months.²⁹

It should be interesting, at this point, to investigate the type of assisted emigrant which was included among the initial group of forty-one settlers.³⁰ "They were poor people largely from County Meath and Cavan,³¹ and many of them were not the most desirable members of their parishes," says Walter Sweetman,

²⁷ The names of the directors appear on the letterhead of the company. See T. D. O'Brien to W. J. Onahan, Feb. 28, 1882, in *The Adrian Colony Letters*. See also Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, 61.

²⁸ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1911, 61.

²⁹ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, in *Acta de Dicta*, July 1911, 61-62.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 64. Mr. Walter Sweetman maintains that there must have been at least eighty immigrant families there by the end of 1881.

³¹ These counties are in the east-central part of Ireland.

who came here May 7, 1882, to help his cousin, John. "To be eligible for transportation to Currie, a candidate had to have three qualifications: he had to be a certain age (beyond 21), he had to be married, and he had to be recommended by his parish priest. But it was hard to check up on their ages. Few birth records were kept in those days, and many of those preserved were inaccurate. Besides, there were instances in which the parish priest would recommend the least desirable of his flock in order to get rid of a disturbing element."³²

The colonization company at first paid all of the transportation to Currie, and provided food and fuel for one year from the date of arrival. The settler was encouraged to acquire a piece of land immediately. It was offered for sale at the prices charged by the Winona and St. Peter Railroad Company (from which it was bought), but six per cent was charged,—the same as the rate charged by the railroad company, for land sold on time.³³

According to Mr. Walter Sweetman, the company bought land at \$3.60 and sold it at \$4 per acre. But the literature issued by the Irish company emphasized the fact that they would give the colonist a much longer time to pay the principal, and that they would not charge interest in advance as the railroad company did. Besides, the railroad company required the purchaser to pay at once, one-fifth of the amount of the purchase price, and one year's interest, on deferred payments. The colonizing company, on the contrary, required the immediate payment of but one-tenth of the amount of the purchase, and then nothing for eighteen months, when they charged the interest for that time on the unpaid balance. The following year they again charged only interest. Then for two years the settler was asked to pay one-twentieth of the principal each year, and interest on the balance. The following two years he was asked to pay one-tenth of the principal, and interest on the amount unpaid, and finally for three years, he should pay one-fifth of the principal and interest on the balance. In other words, the settler who bought land from the Winona and St. Peter Railroad Company was obliged to make a payment of \$96 each year for

³² This information was secured in a conference with Mr. Walter Sweetman, 984 Ashland Ave., St. Paul.

³³ *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 6, a pamphlet, issued by the Irish American Colonization Company, Currie, Minnesota. Published by the Pioneer Press Company. This pamphlet is available in the Chancery Office of the St. Paul Catholic Diocese, 244 Dayton Ave.

five years, plus interest. If he bought his land from the colonization company, \$48 was paid on the principal the first year, nothing for three years, then \$24 each year for two years, followed by \$48 each for two years, and ending with the payment of \$96 each year for three years, with interest charged as specified in the contract.³⁴

A house was also built for the immigrant, and such farm implements and other necessities as were absolutely essential, were provided at once. This house, according to Walter Sweetman, was really a 14 by 18 foot shanty, arranged in three rooms. Lumber and posts to support the roof of a barn, the walls of which had to be built of sod, were also provided. In addition, the company bought for the settler a breaking plow, a yoke of oxen, a harrow, a wagon; a cooking stove, and a few pieces of furniture were also given to the first settlers.³⁵ All together, the house, its equipment, and the farm implements cost the colonist \$250, of which one-tenth had to be paid at the time of purchase, and the remainder in small installments. Eight per cent interest was charged on deferred payments, but since all of the materials were bought at wholesale, the company advertised a saving of thirty per cent over the average retail price.³⁶

Under such favorable circumstances, with food and fuel provided for a year, and with a house, tools, and land for each settler, one would expect a fair amount of success, but such was not the case. Of the forty-one settlers who came to Currie in the spring of 1881, only sixteen were left by 1883. "Having arrived there," writes Mr. Sweetman, "they would not remain on the farms, but would go to the cities for the sake of escaping the debt."³⁷

The type of immigrant which came to the Currie Colony could not be kept on farms. They were essentially day laborers who were accustomed to their weekly pay, and to the traditional Saturday night's amusements. For those people, life on the plains was too monotonous. Besides, the necessity of waiting a whole year for returns from their crops was a vast hardship on most of them. As a result, the first attempt at Sweetman

³⁴ *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, a pamphlet, 6-7.

³⁵ *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 7. Confirmation of this information was secured from Mr. Walter Sweetman, who added many points not covered in their pamphlet.

³⁶ *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 7.

³⁷ Sweetman, *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, 62, 64.

colonization in south-western Minnesota was a most decided failure.³⁸

John Sweetman lost heavily in this enterprise during the first year and in the years following. When he returned to Ireland, after having witnessed the failure of his project, he bought up 90% of the stock of the company, because he did not want to see his fellow promoters lose in an undertaking of which he was the originator.³⁹

Since he was not the type of man who would recognize defeat easily, as has been said, he began practically anew in 1882. This time he was more careful in selecting his emigrants, and fewer concessions were allowed them. Nevertheless, in the early part of 1882 he was still willing to accept settlers who had no capital of their own, provided they could pay for their passage to Currie. As the year advanced, however, only industrious laborers who understood farming, and who had five hundred dollars of their own, were encouraged to migrate to Minnesota. The prospective Irish settler was informed, moreover, that he could secure a yoke of oxen for about \$115, and a cow for \$25, and that food, fuel, and sundries could be bought from the company at wholesale prices.⁴⁰

In the November 1882 pamphlet of the Irish Colonization Company, every effort was made to show the exceptional advantages which were offered to a man with a little capital in the Currie Colony.⁴¹ The village of Currie was represented as a thriving community having two hotels, a blacksmith shop, two general stores, a harness shop, a wagon factory, a butcher shop, two resident doctors, two lawyers, a priest, and a school master.⁴²

³⁸ This is the opinion of Walter Sweetman, 984 Ashland Ave., St. Paul.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 8.

⁴¹ The land, which was situated between three and ten miles from either the Winona and St. Peter Railroad, or the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad, was said to be the finest in Minnesota. *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 8.

⁴² *Farms For Sale in the Sweetman Catholic Colony*, 8. The Federal census of 1870 gives a population of 185 for Murray County, but of that number only one was born in Ireland. The census of 1880 shows Murray County to have a population of 2397, of whom 162 were born in Ireland. In 1890 the total foreign-born population of the county was 2387, of whom 313 were born in Ireland. No return was made under the name of Currie in 1885 or 1890. See, *Compendium of the Eleventh Census, 1890*, Vol. I, Part II, Table 3, 642-643; *Compendium of the Ninth Census of the U. S., 1870*, 419-420; *Compendium of the Tenth Census of the U. S., 1880*, Vol. I, Part I, p. 513.

Approximately forty Irish families came to Currie during the year 1882 as a result of this advertising and Mr. Sweetman's process of selection; but again the project failed, as it had the year previous. In writing of his unfortunate experience with Irish colonization in Minnesota, the managing director says, "In 1883 I published a short pamphlet entitled 'Recent Experience in the Emigration of Irish Families,' showing how we failed in our original scheme. I wrote: 'A very little experience shows that it is a Utopian scheme to pay the passage of emigrants with the hopes of having the amount returned, unless some security can be obtained. . . . Further experience proved that it was impossible to succeed in our original scheme, but after some years we were able to sell our land to sons of farmers in the Eastern States,⁴³ who were anxious to obtain cheap lands, and when I was there in 1904 I found the district was a most prosperous Catholic Settlement."⁴⁴

In writing to Mr. Sweetman in 1908, Bishop Ireland commented on the old Currie Colony as follows: "I visited Murray County and went through it from one end to another in an automobile. What a change from the days of the oxen and slow horses! I was particularly delighted with Currie. . . . I met many of the old colonists—especially Mr. Mooney. All without exception are delighted that they remained in Murray County. All are prosperous and revere your name and memory."⁴⁵

"As a scheme for helping Irish emigrants to settle on land in America," wrote Sweetman in 1911, "my work of thirty years ago was a failure, but as establishing a Catholic colony on the prairies, it seems to have been a success."⁴⁶

⁴³ Walter Sweetman maintains that, although his cousin lost about £30,000 during the first five years of Currie's existence, he was able to make up much of this loss by selling his lands to Germans, Swedes, and to French inhabitants from Kankakee.

John Sweetman says that he remained most of the time on the prairies until 1892, hence it must have taken about a decade to recoup for the failure of the colonization attempts of 1881 and 1882. See *The Sweetman Catholic Colony of Currie, Minnesota*, 64.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 62, 64.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 65.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 65.

VI

THE GRACEVILLE COLONY OF BIGSTONE COUNTY.
THE "TUKE FUND" IMMIGRANTS.

"There was still another company of colonists sent out from Ireland through the instrumentality of my venerated friend, Father Nugent of Liverpool and located on land near the present Graceville," says W. J. Onahan, in discussing Catholic colonization in Minnesota. "This contingent gained at the time a somewhat unpleasant notoriety, and was known as the Connemaras."¹

Unfortunately, we have few definite records which show the true connection of Monsignor Nugent with this great movement of Irish immigrants to Minnesota. In the *Liverpool Daily Post* of July 22, 1896, there is mention of Father Nugent's first experience with Irish emigration. In 1870, seeing the opening there was for emigrants in America, he personally conducted a group of children to an emigrants' farm in Canada. Ten years later, following the terrible crop failure of 1880, upon the advice of a Liverpool Benevolent Committee, he visited the west of Ireland. Since he found that much of the distress was due to the complete failure of the staple crop, potatoes, he was instrumental in supplying many of the poor families with seed potatoes necessary for the replacement of their crops. Then, as an added measure of relief, in June of 1880 he sent out three hundred people from Galway County, in west-central Ireland, to Graceville, Bigstone County, Minnesota.²

It is not known if this group of Irish settlers was assisted in the measure as that sent out by Mr. Sweetman a year later. It is perhaps safe to conjecture, however, that transportation was paid for these poor colonists, perhaps through a fund publicly subscribed to for that purpose. After they had reached their destination, we know that they were placed on Bigstone County farms by Bishop Ireland and his assistants, Dillon O'Brien and J. P. O'Connor of the Catholic Colonization Bureau

¹ Onahan, *A Chapter on Catholic Colonization*, in *Acta et Dicta*, July 1917, 72. The township and village of Graceville was founded by Catholic colonists in 1877 and 1878 in honor of Bishop Grace, who was Bishop of St. Paul, 1859-1884. Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, XVII, 54.

² A clipping from *The Liverpool Daily Post*, July 22, 1896. The article is entitled, "Monsignor Nugent's Jubilee." It is in the private collection of letters, newspaper reports, etc., concerning Father Nugent, and in the possession of his niece, Sister Francesca, St. Joseph's Academy, St. Paul.

of Minnesota.³ In the Bureau's advertising pamphlets, one finds some interesting information concerning the Graceville Colony in general, and the status of the "Connemaras" in that settlement.

In 1878, Col. J. R. King, as the agent of Bishop Ireland's Catholic Colonization Bureau, visited the Toqua Lakes, and reported to Dr. Ireland the excellent condition of the lands in that portion of Bigstone County. The Bishop immediately purchased a soldier's claim of 80 acres for a town site, which he called Graceville. Almost immediately immigrants came rushing in in such large numbers that the Bureau was forced to erect a large immigrants' shed which was used for housing purposes. A general store, a butcher shop, a real estate office, a Catholic church, and many other buildings were soon erected.⁴

The lands in the vicinity of the Graceville of 1878 and 1879 were known as "indemnity lands" of the St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Manitoba Railway. Although the full title to these lands was not immediately secured from the government, Bishop Ireland obtained a contract on a percentage basis with the Railroad Company, whereby he secured several sections of lands to be sold on liberal terms and in small and large tracts to the incoming settlers. As a result of this action, during the months of March, April, and May, 1878, the Colonization Bureau located one hundred and seventy-five families in Bigstone County. "Many of these colonists were poor people who were induced to leave Minnesota towns and settle on the land." However, "The Connemara Colony, of which so much has been said, was a distinct social element from the rest, coming from Europe, wholly unadapted to agricultural life. This has since broken (by 1888) leaving a few families who rank with the first in industrial ability."⁵

There was in England, at this same time, another notable philanthropist, Mr. James H. Tuke, who spent not a little time and money in transporting hundreds of the poorest Irish from

³ J. P. O'Connor to M. J. McDonnell, Graceville, in *The Diocesan Letters*, 1889-1890, 108.

⁴ This information is taken from pamphlets, I and II, entitled, *Graceville*. The contents of Pamphlet I are derived from *A History of Traverse County, Browns Valley, and Its Environs*, published in 1888. Pamphlet II is an advertising pamphlet of the Catholic Colonization Bureau, and distributed by it, beginning in January, 1879. They are to be found in the tax receipt box for lands owned by the Bureau in Bigstone County, in Room 8 of the Chancery Office of the St. Paul Catholic Diocese, 244 Dayton Ave,

⁵ See Pamphlet I, pp. 2-3.

the western counties of Ireland to St. Paul, Swift County, Graceville, Waseca, and elsewhere, during the years 1882 to 1885.

Mr. Tuke was born in New York in 1819, but moved to England at the age of thirty-three years, and later became an English citizen. The effects of the Irish famine of 1846-1848 were still very perceptible when he arrived in England in 1852. As a result of the extreme destitution which continued in Ireland, Tuke became interested in philanthropic work among the poorest citizens.⁶ "Amidst the various phases of the ever-recurring Irish question," he wrote in 1882, "it is pleasant to turn for a moment from schemes of repression to measures of relief."⁷ "A few months ago a private meeting of gentlemen deeply interested in the welfare of Ireland, and consisting for the most part of members of Parliament, was held at the suggestion of the Duke of Bedford in Eaton Square. Only one motive prompted their action—the motive of humanity. They knew the condition of the country and could judge its wants. The difficulties which beset governmental action in the way of immediate and effective emigration were fully discussed."⁸

As a result of this meeting, a committee was appointed to investigate emigration from the poor and congested districts in the west of Ireland. In order to give financial assistance and encouragement to the cause, a sum of ten thousand pounds was immediately subscribed. The Duke of Bedford accepted the Presidency of the new organization. Honorable W. H. Smith, M. P., was elected Chairman, and Honorable Samuel Whitbread, M. P., was elected Deputy. "Having only recently returned from Ireland,⁹ where I had spent much time investigating the people," says Tuke, "I was honored by the Committee by a request to give practical effect to their motives."¹⁰

The first point concerning which the Committee had to satisfy itself was the question of the degree of necessity of emigration from western Ireland. In reply to this question, Mr. Tuke explained that in the western counties there was at that time (1882) a population of 1,030,000 people living on 158,400 hold-

⁶ James H. Tuke, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Sidney Lee, ed., XIX, 1224-1225 (New York, 1909).

⁷ J. H. Tuke, *With the Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century Review*, James Knowles, ed., XII, July-December 1882, 134 (London, 1882).

⁸ Tuke, *With the Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century Review*, XII, 134.

⁹ Tuke spent two months in the west of Ireland in 1880, distributing funds subscribed by "The English Friends." Tuke, *Dictionary of National Biography*, XIX, 1225.

¹⁰ Tuke, *With the Irish Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, XII, 135.

ings. Of this number 77,200 were at or under four pounds valuation, still the rents varied from ten to twenty shillings up to six pounds. The total acreage under cultivation was 584,700, of which 255,100 acres were sown to oats, 212,700 acres to potatoes, and 116,500 acres to all other crops. This gave an average for each holding of about three acres which were capable of immediate cultivation.¹¹

Tuke proved to the Committee that the majority of the small tenants in the western unions¹² were in arrears for rent and shop debts. This was perhaps best shown in the case of Townland Union which consisted of twenty-five families, or one hundred and fifty-seven people, who lived on fifty-seven acres. According to government statistics, the valuation of the holdings on these fifty-seven acres was eighty-five pounds, eight shillings, whereas the arrears for rent and shop debts over a period of three and a half years amounted to more than seven hundred and five pounds for the entire union.¹³

"It is these conditions," wrote Tuke in 1882, "which led to the formation of the Committee in London to which I have alluded. My experience has convinced me that immigration is possible and that it would be acceptable to many."¹⁴

After completing their investigation, the members of the Committee found that their original agreement to furnish half of the fare for each emigrant, with the provision that the several unions provide the other half, was not practicable, due to the extreme poverty of the majority of the inhabitants in western Ireland. Nevertheless, after some readjustments, the details of which we do not know, "The Tuke Fund Committee," as the London Committee was called, arranged for the transportation to America of about three hundred and fifty Connemara¹⁵ inhabitants in April, 1882. Some three hundred and fifty more left in May, and about four hundred others a little later. "All together twelve hundred and sixty-four men, women, and chil-

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 135.

¹² A union was a tract of land as big as eight Scotch, or twelve Welch counties, comprising an average of about 175,000 acres and 20,000 people. Tuke, *With the Irish Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, XII, 147.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 136.

¹⁵ Not all of the emigrants came from Connemara. Some came from adjacent districts in western Ireland.

dren migrated to America in the spring of 1882, at a total cost of seven thousand, seven hundred pounds."¹⁶

Just how many of these Irish people who were "booked" for Boston, Philadelphia, New York, Toronto, and Detroit reached Minnesota in 1882, there is no means of telling. The fact that they were booked for Eastern cities would seem to signify that most of them remained in the East for the time being. Since the potato famine of 1880 and 1881 had left so many of the Irish destitute, it is natural to assume that few of these immigrants possessed the capital necessary to begin life in the West. But this group of over twelve hundred emigrants in 1882 marked only the beginning of assisted emigration. Some eight thousand people were sent out from Ireland during 1883 and 1884 through the medium of the "Tuke Fund," which was aided by the English treasury.¹⁷

There were many schemes fostered by Lord Brabazon and others, about 1885, to have the English government advance one million dollars to ten thousand poor families of England and Ireland, in order to enable them to locate on farms in Canada or elsewhere. The money so advanced was to be paid back yearly by the colonists. Tuke opposed such schemes, however, and offered as his chief argument the failure of Sweetman's Currie Colony, and of some of Bishop Ireland's projects, which were attempted by placing men with little or no means on farms in Minnesota. "Even with the most liberal terms of re-payment," Tuke said, "these colonists were not fitted for so great a change."¹⁸ Indeed, so largely have these experiments failed, that Bishop Ireland and Sweetman had to accept only those who had some stake of their own to put in the land. High wages outside led the farmers to throw up their lands in a year or two."¹⁹

In the light of the success of his own "prairie colonists" of 1883 and 1884, it is surprising that Tuke took the decided stand just discussed. That there was a detachment of "Tuke Fund"

¹⁶ Tuke, *With the Irish Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, XII, 146, 150-157.

¹⁷ *State Aid to Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, Jan.-June 1885, XVII, 288 (Philadelphia, 1885).

¹⁸ In this connection, Maguire, in *The Irish in America*, 215, says, "One or two years service with a farmer, particularly with one who has himself earned his competency and comforts through trials, should be deemed an indispensable preparation for the settler before undertaking the clearance of a piece of land on his own account."

¹⁹ *State Aid to Emigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century*, XVII, 281-282.

immigrants sent to Minnesota in 1883, there is positive proof; for, in an article entitled, "News From Some Irish Immigrants," written by Tuke in 1889, he quotes from a letter of November 5, 1888, by Father Martin Mahoney, "who accompanied and took charge of a detachment of immigrants bound for Minnesota in 1883."²⁰

In discussing these immigrants, Father Mahoney says, "That Minnesota has been the land of fulfillment is very tellingly shown by the numbers who have every year kept coming from Toronto and other places in Canada²¹ and from Ireland, encouraged by good reports and often helped by the prepaid passage tickets of their friends in St. Paul. The continuous growth of St. Paul and Minneapolis these late years has occasioned an unlimited demand for just the sort of labor and service suited to immigrants from Ireland—common labor for men and boys, and housework for girls. There is work for every comer who can handle a pick and shovel and never at less than \$1.50 per day. Even in winter men get \$1.25 a day for cleaning off snow and ice from the streets and street car tracks. For women wages range from \$8 to \$16 a week in private families, hotels, boarding houses, and laundries. Being so accustomed to renting, unlike other immigrants, they do not build homes, but live in meager surroundings, being afraid to put their savings anywhere except in their stocking or in the bank. But during 1887 and 1888 more of the emigrants were buying houses and lots."²²

The contents of this letter, all of which has not been quoted, show the progress and well-being of the Irish immigrants, not only in the cities, but also in the farming districts where many of them located.²³ Conditions were so promising, in fact, that the "Tuke Fund" Committee sent another group of settlers to Minnesota in the spring of 1884. This group proved to be of such a superior class, that Bishop Ireland wrote a complimentary letter to Mr. Tuke, commending him for the excellent

²⁰ J. H. Tuke, *News From Some Irish Immigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century Review*, Jan.-June 1889, XXV, 43 (London and New York, 1889). Surely, if these were average citizens of western Ireland, they would not have had a capital outlay of their own large enough to begin farming.

²¹ We should not assume that all of the ten thousand Irish emigrants of the years 1882, 1883, and 1884 came to the United States, for many of them first settled in Canada, and some went to Australia. See, Tuke, *News From Some Irish Immigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century Review*, XXV, 431.

²² Tuke, *News From Some Irish Immigrants*, in *The Nineteenth Century Review*, XXV, 435.

²³ *Ibid.*, 435.

type of citizen he was adding to the State. Indeed, Dr. Ireland was so pleased with the new colonists, that he supervised the placing of thirty "Tuke Fund" families in 1885.²⁴

"It was perhaps this group which was sent to Graceville, or maybe it was a larger group a year or two previous," said Mr. O'Connor in discussing the Graceville Colony. "So many of the Connemaras (so-called) came here between 1880 and 1885,—some in large and others in small numbers, that I can't remember which group went to Graceville, and which went to Swift County, etc.; but on the whole they were fine people, and helped build up the State wherever they went."²⁵

That some of these settlers from the west of Ireland, either the assisted immigrants of Father Nugent's shipment in 1880, or of the "Tuke Fund" groups of the years immediately following, secured lands in Graceville from the Catholic Colonization Bureau of Minnesota, we have positive proof. In a letter of March 29, 1889, O'Connor, the Business Secretary of the Bureau, wrote to his land agent in Graceville as follows, "You might explain . . . to the Connemara settlers, that if they do not settle according to the notices they will have to deal directly with the Railroad Company."²⁶ Then, on April 1, 1889, O'Connor enclosed an itemized list of amounts due the Colonizing Company from Irish settlers on lands in the vicinity of Graceville. This list shows that in 1882, 1883, and 1884, many of the immigrants secured (through the Bureau) farms of 160 acres upon which, in 1889, they still owed amounts ranging from \$110 to \$240, plus interest from the time of purchase.²⁷

²⁴ *State Aid to Emigrants, in The Nineteenth Century.*

²⁵ This statement was secured in a conference with Mr. O'Connor, 2057 Selby Ave., St. Paul. In the article on *State Aid to Emigrants*, in Vol. XVII of *The Nineteenth Century Review*, p. 289, Tuke defends the character of his emigrants, saying that only twenty paupers were sent out from Ireland among the ten thousand who left during the years 1882, 1883, and 1884. This defense was perhaps necessary because of the bad reputation of the early Connemaras of 1880.

²⁶ O'Connor to M. T. McDonnell, Jr., March 29, 1889, in *The Diocesan Letters.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Same to same, April 1, 1889. It should be interesting at this point to describe the contract which existed between the Bureau and its land agents throughout the West. The agent usually received fifty cents an acre for each acre sold in his district. In the case of the sale of all of the Bureau's land in Traverse County to J. H. Meagher in 1890, the agent was asked to take twenty-five cents an acre as his commission. Since the lands were sold for \$5, of which \$4 had to be paid the railroad company, the Bureau officials thought that fifty cents an acre was too much for the agent. Although O'Connor says that this Traverse County sale, and the sale (also to Meagher) of 3498 acres of the Bureau's land in Bigstone County just before it, was due to the fact that the Bishop was anxious "to wash his hands out of the land business," on March

In conclusion, we may well say that the story of Graceville and the "Tuke Fund" immigrants in that vicinity and elsewhere, is simply the story of all Irish colonization in Minnesota, accompanied by perhaps a slightly less degree of distress and privation in some cases. This may be accounted for first, because the benefactors and the beneficiaries themselves had learned much from the rather unfortunate experiences of their predecessors. Secondly, it may be accounted for in that many of the Graceville and "Tuke Fund" settlers came at a time when Minnesota had been developed to a far greater degree than was thought possible by the colonists who migrated to "the wild open prairies" a decade or so before. "Nevertheless, the Connemaras had their happy and their sad moments," said J. P. O'Connor, "for was there ever an immigrant or a promoter of immigration,—Irish or otherwise, who didn't have his ups and his downs in the radical change from life in the Old Country, to life in the virgin prairies of our own State, Minnesota?"²⁸

Whether the census reports show that Irish colonization "paid" would depend entirely upon one's point of view. To the officers of the colonizing companies it was undoubtedly disappointing to find that only 313 people of Irish birth had remained in Murray County by 1890, and that only 197 of the Irish-born immigrants had remained in Nobles County by that date. So far as the writer is concerned, facts and figures notwithstanding, he feels that, in the light of the motives which impelled the movement, one may safely say that the colonization phase of Irish immigration to Minnesota was, in a large measure, successful.

HOWARD ESTON EGAN

Chicago, Illinois.

30, 1892, the officers of the Bureau refused to consider R. R. Johnson's offer to buy all of Bishop Ireland's Swift County lands, because many better offers had been received and rejected. See O'Connor to Tyler, at Fargo, Dec. 29, 1890; Jan. 5, 1890, and March 30, 1892, in *The Diocesan Letters, 1890-1893*.

²⁸ This statement was secured in a conference with Mr. J. P. O'Connor in the fall of 1924.

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6. Grinnell, Laurence, *Land and Liberty*. (Dublin, 1908.) Although written by a member of the English Parliament, this book has an extreme Irish bias. It explains some points, however, which cannot be found in other general works.

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12. Ryan, W. P., *The Irish Labor Movement*. (London and Dublin, 1919.) Although this book is written in a rather unscholarly manner, it contains an acceptable, brief account of labor in Ireland from 1820 to 1919.

13. Schaefer, Francis, *St. Paul*, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Charles Herbermann, et al., eds., XIII. (New York, 1912.)

14. *James Shields*, in *The New Encyclopedia*, D. C. Gilman, H. T. Peck, and F. N. Colby, eds., XV. (New York, 1904.)

15. *The Statesman's Year Book: 1924*, J. S. Keltie and M. Epstein, eds. (London, 1924.)

16. *James H. Tukey*, in *The Dictionary of National Biography*, Sidney Lee, ed., XIX. (New York, 1909.)

NOTE: This biography would be incomplete, from the writer's point of view, unless mention were made of the receipt of highly informational letters from: Rev. Francis Schaefer of Sleepy Eye, Minnesota, October 18, 1924; Vincent O'Reilly, 132 E. 16th St., New York, December 16, 1924; Michael Leary, 3610 Pine Grove Avenue, Chicago, February 18, 1925, and Hon. P. H. Rahilly, Lake City, Minnesota, June 1, 1925.

MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA

I

The life, death, and resurrection of Mission San Juan Bautista are inspiration to faith, hope, love, and the perseverance that leads to success. As a unit it has not heretofore been written. An effort is now made to let the story tell itself direct from documents, decade by decade, as link by link in a rosary to which again "a cross is hung."

In the year 1776 the presidio and mission of San Francisco were founded by Lieutenant Moraga and Father Palóu, and the pueblo by Don Juan Bautista de Anza, under the cross and flag of Spain.¹ Bolton's statement that "within seventy-five years San Francisco was to become the western gateway of the new American nation,"² has its counterpart in the story of Mission San Juan Bautista—mission now for the Orient.

On May 7, 1769, in the Diary of Fray Juan Crespi, appears the first reference to the beautiful San Juan Bautista Valley. On Sunday, after the celebration of Mass, and a few hours spent in the journey, the name was given. "I called the place the Valley of San Estanislao, and the father president called it San Juan Bautista,"³ Father Crespi describes it as a lovely spot of pasture, trees, running water and live oaks, referring later to its wealth of roses. The Indians were numerous. Two decades of mission building passed. San Juan Bautista was "founded⁴ at the expense of the Catholic King of Spain, Carlos IV (may God keep him), and on the order of his Excellency Señor Marquis de Banciforte, Viceroy of Nueva España, in this place called by the natives Popeloutechom, and by ours since its first discovery San Benito."⁵

The Mission was commenced "the very day of the Holy Titular Patron, June 24, 1797, on which I the undersigned President of the Missions of New California committed by his Majesty to

¹ Herbert Eugene Bolton, *Palóu's New California*, I, lvii.

² Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*, 276.

³ Bolton, *Crespi-Missionary Explorer, 1769-1774*.

⁴ MS. Archivo de la Misión de San Juan Bautista—Libros de Misión, Libro 1 (Bancroft Collection).

⁵ "The steam called San Benito by Crespi was San Juan Creek" Bolton, *Crespi*, 281.

the Apostolic College de Propaganda Fide of San Fernando of Mexico in the presence of the Reverend Apostolic Preachers, Fray Magin Catala and Fray Joseph Manuel de Martiarena, of the troops destined to garrison the present establishment and of many heathen of the vicinity who showed themselves very well pleased, blessed the water, the place and a large Cross which we venerated and raised on high." . . . "Thus this locality was constituted a Mission dedicated to the glorious Precursor of Jesus Christ our Lord the Senor Juan Bautista on his own day." ⁶

Blessed by sunshine, soft breezes, splendid water facilities, and unusual fertility of soil San Juan Bautista Mission and village grew and flourished. Little skirmishes were quickly settled and its neophytes numbered thousands of happy Indians.

"On the thirteenth of June, 1803, our Catholic Monarch, Señor Don Carlos IV reigning in the Spains, may God guard him, and his Exceelleny, Señor Don José de Iturrigaray, Viceroy, Governor, and Captain General of the kingdom of New Spain; Colonel Don José Joaquin Arrillaga, being governor *ad interim* of the Peninsula of Alta California; Fray Fermín Lazúen being President of the missions; and Fray José Manuel Martiarena and Fray Domingo de Iturrate, ministers of this mission of San Juan Bautista, was celebrated the blessing and laying of the cornerstone of the new church, which began the same day at four o'clock in the afternoon; at which solemnity were present the Reverend Father Minister of Santa Clara, Fray José Viador, as Priest [celebrant], Don José de la Guerra y Noriega, Alférez of the cavalry of the Presidio of Monterey as Sponsor, and as assistants the Señors Captain Don José de Font, surgeon from the Presidio, Don Juan de Dios Morelos, and the Sergeant of the Royal body of the Artillery, José Unzueta.

"In the hollow of the cornerstone various pieces of silver of all coinages were placed and at their right a bottle stopped with sealing wax which contained a paper of these contents, and in certification thereof have affixed their signatures

Fray José Viador	José de la Guerra
José de Font	Juan de Dios Morelos
	Josá Unzueta.'''

San Juan Bautista Mission was accomplished, the chapel built. Vocational school progressed; music, sewing, horticulture and agriculture were taught. Spanish as well as Indian, shepherds and vaqueros morning and evening answered the Angelus call to prayer. Pueblo San Juan at the foot of Gabilan Mountain between San Joaquin Valley and the coast lifted its rose trellised roofs over Spanish and Indian families, and men eager for conquests and the spread of civilization and spiritual-

⁶ MS. Archivo de la Mission de San Juan Bautista.

⁷ MS. Direct translation from the Mission Book of San Juan Bautista.

ity in the "name of God and King" found rest and inspiration in the fertile valley. Frays José Maria de Zalvidea, Pedro Muñoz, Estevan Tapis, José Viador and others of equal valor left indelible imprints upon priceless manuscripts in the mission and names upon the ceaseless waters of the San Joaquin.

On September 21, 1806, Fray Pedro Muñoz and Lieutenant Moraga left San Juan Bautista in search of new mission sites. They traveled east and north until they reached a broad stream which gaily they called Las Mariposas (Butterflies). Then on up the plains under burning skies with tantalizing mirages they rambled with thirst unquenched until, after many days, as in answer they found the "Nuestra Señora de la Merced," the river of mercy flowing down from the snows of Yosemite. Of the many streams they crossed these only I mention, because they glide again into the story of San Juan Bautista. Rio de los Santos Reyes (Kings River), which also follows the threads of a later chapter, they left with the designation given it by Zalvidea.⁹

In 1810 Lieutenant Moraga in company with Fray José Viador made another trip into the San Joaquin from Mission San José and returned over the mountains to the land of plenty, San Juan Bautista.¹⁰

In consequence of havoc wrought by one of several earthquakes, a new church was built and on June 23, 1812, "Lieutenant Colonel José Joaquin de Arrillaga being Governor of the Californias and Fray Estevan Tapis being President of the missions, 'there was celebrated the blessing of the new church, at which solemnity the Reverend Father Ministers of the missions of San Francisco, Santa Clara, and San José were present.' Don Manuel Gutiérrez, a resident of Los Angeles, was sponsor and signed the certificate."¹¹

In 1813 a decree of the Spanish Cortés carrying out the idea that the mission system was only a temporary expedient to teach the Indians religion, self government, and support, gave

⁸ Muñoz, *Diario de la Expedición hecha por Don Gabriel Moraga, Alfrérez de la Compañía de San Francisco á los Nuevos Descubrimientos del Tular, 1806*. MS. in Bancroft Library. See Bancroft, *History of California*, II, 52-53 (foot-note).

⁹ Zalvidea, *Diario de una Expedición, Tierra adentro, 1806*. MS. in Bancroft Library, University of California.

¹⁰ Viador, *Diario ó Noticia del Viaga que acabo de hacer por mandate del Sr. Gobernador y Padre Presidente con el objeto de buscar parafes ó Sitios para fundar Misiones, Agosto 1810*. MS. in Bancroft Library.

¹¹ Archivo de la Mision de San Juan Bautista.

San Juan Bautista little concern. The Indians were still pupils, the missionaries most careful teachers. Even when, in 1821, Don Augustin de Iturbide with a victorious army proclaimed himself Emperor Augustin I of Mexico, and the Spanish flag, so long companion of the cross in California, floated away across Pacific waters, the spirit of Spain remained. Remained while Father Tapis lived.

In 1825, November 4, so says the Mission Book,

“the corpse of the Reverend President Fray Esteban Tapis, who was president of the missions of California for many years was buried in the presbytery at the gospel side of the church of this mission [San Juan Bautista]. He was minister in San Carlos, San Louis Obispo, Santa Barbara, Santa Cruz, San Luis Rey, Santa Ines, La Purísima . . . he was a truly evangelical hero—he was outstanding in the prudence he showed towards all the living, particularly towards Superiors, and officials who lived at the time he held office—with the result that he was loved by all, religious, military men, countrymen and Indians. He preached continually and with fervor—he taught the children when it was possible the first rudiments of school—he wrote music for the singers in the church”—he was very eager and efficient in the discharge of his priestly duties. He received the sacraments from the hands of the Father Prefect Sarria and of Father Arroyo and other spiritual aids in the presence of Fathers Jose Viador (of Santa Clara) and Bonaventura Fortuny (of San Jose) and of the said Gil de Taboado (Santa Cruz). He died at 2:10 in the afternoon of November 3.”¹²

II

Under the rule of Mexico on November 13, 1828, a new set of colonization rules went into effect. Contentment breathed no more in California. Revolution after revolution, election after election followed in quick succession. “The wonderful triple system of Spanish colonization: religious, by missions; civil by villages; and military by presidios; which was established and executed by various royal decrees from 1767 until the epoch of the separation of New Spain from the mother country,” had vanished.¹³

In 1834 statistics show for San Juan Bautista Mission: 1,450 Indians, 9,000 horned cattle, 1,200 mules and horses, 900 goats and hogs, 3,500 crops of wheat and maize. By 1842 secularization had left nothing for the Indians. They were driven back to the hills without clothing or food, to be hereafter known as “horsethief Indians.” Eighty are said to have remained as

¹² Libro de Entierros de la mision de San Juan Bautista, certificate by Reverend Fray Gil Taboada, November 4, 1825, fol. 154.

¹³ Halleck's Rep. 141, Appendix No. 1, Supreme Court of the United States, Brief of Appellee, James R. Bolton, 1859.

slaves of Spanish families. The Religious had only a church and curacy. Statistics show that over the former mission lands roamed 800 cattle, 500 horses and mules, 2,000 goats and hogs. Crops had dwindled to one-third the amount yielded under clerical supervision.

"Under the Spanish Government a courier, setting out from Guamas every three months, crossed the Gulf of California in a schooner, and landed at Loreto. From thence letters were carried by land to the various missions as far as Monterey. This means of communication has ceased for a long time, and now they remained often a whole year at Mexico without receiving any news from California in 1842."¹⁴

San Juan Bautista became Juan de Castro. The Reglamento of March 1, 1840, did not, as romantic writers have said, make for California "the splendid idle forties: the golden age of fame." It stilled the songs of songs, trampled the altar roses and hushed the bells in the belfries. Spain was gone, Mexico was indifferent, the United States feared. France and England called.

Through many years the Boston trading ships had been bringing men who married and remained as one with the Californians. Overland from the United States came covered wagons with families of settlers. California statesmen realized that they could not stand alone. Of Latin blood, they instinctively turned toward France.

In 1840 by order of the Council of Louis Phillippe, M. Duflot de Mofras, an attaché of the French Legation in Mexico, was detached from that post and commanded to make a reconnaissance of California and Oregon. The book which he wrote during his travels included "natural history, climatology, social conditions, politics, legislation, and religious instructions, and contained even plans for the soundings of harbors with sailing directions for entering them from ocean to ocean." The work so pleased Louis Phillippe that he ordered a two-volume edition published in Paris. "It is a book of the highest authority, and was doubtless prepared as a hand-book for the acquisition of California by the French."¹⁵

¹⁴ Duflot de Mofras, *Exploration du territoire de l'Orégone, des Californies et de la mer Vermeille, exécuté pendant les années 1840, 1841 et 1842, par M. Duflot de Mofras, Attaché à la Légation de France, à Mexico.* Paris, 1844. p. 222.

¹⁵ Appendix to Brief of Appellee in the United States vs. James R. Bolton, Supreme Court, December Term, 1859.

In 1846 the Californians, exasperated by the exactions, oppressions and indifference of Mexico met in an Extraordinary Convention, "Junta," in Monterey. The speech there delivered by Governor Pio Pico, clearly sets forth their very difficult position.¹⁶

"We possess a glorious country, capable of attaining a physical and moral greatness corresponding with the grandeur and beauty which an Almighty hand has stamped upon the face of our beloved California . . . Although we live in the midst of plenty, we lay up nothing; but, tilling the earth in an imperfect manner, all our time is required to procure subsistence for ourselves and our families. Thus circumstanced we find ourselves suddenly threatened by hordes of Yankee emigrants, who have already begun to flock into our country, and whose progress we cannot arrest. . . . *They are cultivating farms, establishing vineyards, erecting mills, sawing up lumber, building workshops, and doing a thousand other things which seem natural to them, but which Californians neglect or despise.*"¹⁷ . . . I see no disgrace in the last refuge of the oppressed and powerless and I boldly avow that such is the step I would have Californians take. *There are two great powers in Europe.* . . . I pronounce for annexation to France or England, and the people of California will never regret having taken my advice. . . . Nay, does not every man abhor the miserable abortion christened the 'Republic of Mexico,' and look back with regret to the *golden days of Spanish monarchy!* Let us restore that glorious era! Then may our people go quietly to their ranchos, and *live there as of yore, leading a merry and thoughtless life, untroubled by politics or cares of State, sure of what is their own and safe from the incursions of the Yankees.* . . . "

The Assembly gave ready response to Pio Pico's call, "France or England, never the Yankee!"

Then arose the more northern, hardier, cosmopolitan, clearer visioned General Don Mariano Vallejo. Acknowledging Pio Pico's contention that longer to expect help or protection from Mexico would be "idle and absurd," he asserted that California

¹⁶ The superfluous words in this speech differ in the two translations: The U. S. Appellants vs. James R. Bolton, and Lieutenant Revere, U. S. N., *A Tour of Duty in Californias including a Description of The Gold Regions and An Account of the voyage around Cape Horn*, edited by Joseph N. Balestier, of New York, 1849. In Baneroft Library.

¹⁷ The italics are to bring out the salient points of his discourse.

in electing a governor, had already taken the first step towards independence.

"Another step remain to be taken," he continued. "I will mention it plainly and distinctly: *"it is annexation to the United States.* In contemplating this consummation of our destiny, I feel nothing but pleasure, and I ask you to share it. Discard old prejudices, disregard old customs, and prepare for the glorious change which awaits our country. Why should we shrink from incorporating ourselves with the happiest and freest nation in the world destined soon to be the most wealthy and powerful? Why should we go abroad for protection while this great nation is our adjoining neighbor? When we join our fortune to hers, we shall not become subjects, but fellow-citizens, possessing all the rights of the people of the United States, and choosing our own federal and local rulers. We shall have a stable government and just laws. California will grow strong and flourish, and her people will be prosperous, happy, and free. Look not, therefore, with jealousy upon the hardy pioneers who scale our mountains and cultivate our unoccupied plains; but rather welcome them as brothers, who come to share with us a common destiny."¹⁸

The Assembly adjourned suddenly without action. Vallejo filed with the governor his protest against any project having for its adoption protection other than that of the United States, mounted his horse, and rode northward from Monterey. Pio Pico and Castro remained staunch in their dislike for the Americans, the driving back or enslaving of the Spanish padres' advanced Indians—the helpless third in the inevitable triangle. By decrees of the Mexican government *Mission San Juan Bautista* was mission no longer, but a something between a storehouse and a barracks, although the roses bloomed and Mass was said in its chapel. As early as February 27, 1839, three prefectures had been designated "two for Alta California and one for Baja California; the respective capitals being at San Juan de Castro (*late mission of San Juan Bautista*), Los Angeles and La Paz . . ." ¹⁹ San Juan is "not dead, but sleepeth."

¹⁸ Liet. Revere, U. S. N., *A Tour of Duty*, pp. 28-30.

¹⁹ Prefectures: Arrillaga, *Recopilación*, 1837, p. 202; translated by F. Hall in *History of San José*, p. 154.

III

Across the western waters, over the snow capped mountains, past the rolling waves of the Mississippi, even to the banks of the Potomac, was carried the rumor "Californians seek English protection!" France was forgotten. Boston sailing vessels saw, even as in an earlier century Spanish frigates had seen, the Union Jack fluttering too close to Pacific shores. Thinking men, such as Senator Thomas Benton and others in the Halls of Congress, realized that, not north and south, but east and west were the salient points in nationality. They saw, too, that the strongest tie between Atlantic and Pacific must be a railroad. Thus, not war, but engineering, brought to our slope the never forgotten but often maligned, John Charles Frémont.²⁰

When late in the year 1845 Captain John Charles Frémont, on a surveying expedition for the United States arrived in California, with him were no military trappings nor any soldiers. His party, about sixty-two in all, consisted of surveyors, frontiers men, trappers, and five Delaware Indians. Government reports contain the history of that agonized journey. Frémont, the chivalrous, comments generously upon the unflinching courage of his companions. Exhaustion of men and horses, natural beauties of climate and flora, and indignation at the sudden transition from hospitality to insult on the part of the natives, led the young captain to spend the winter of 1846 in California.

From "Captain Sutter, who was a Mexican magistrate, I obtained a passport to Monterey for myself and my men."²¹ From Sutter's Fort on the Sacramento in Captain Sutter's launch he sailed to Yerba Buena (San Francisco), spent a few days there with Vice-consul Leidesdorff, visited the New Almaden quicksilver mine, in company with Captain Hinckley, and, on January 14, 1846, after finishing a letter to Mrs. Jesse Benton Frémont, set out toward evening with Mr. Leidesdorff for Monterey. The next night they stopped at Don Antonio Sunol's rancho. Their host was a "lover of nature," and the country was beautiful. The next day they crossed the Salinas River, "reached Monterey, and went directly to the house of our consul Mr. Larkin." Finding Governor Pio Pico had gone to Los Angeles, they called upon the commanding officer, General Don José

²⁰ Cf. Allen Nevins, *Frémont: The World's Greatest Adventurer*, New York, 1928, 2 vols.

²¹ Frémont, John Charles, *Memoirs of My Life*, p. 451.

Castro. Captain Frémont told the General and other officers that he was engaged in surveying the nearest route from the United States to the Pacific Ocean. He said:

"I informed them further that the object of the survey was geographical, being under the direction of the Bureau of Topographical Engineers, to which corps I belonged; and that it was made in the interests of science and of commerce."²²

General Castro with courtesy granted the permission. Captain Frémont went back to Sutter's on the Sacramento and returned down the San Joaquin to the fertile plains of San Juan Bautista, noting day by day, as had Fray Juan Crespi in the previous century, the loveliness of flowers and birds, sunrise and sunsets.

"A few scattered flowers were now showing throughout the forests, and on the open ridges shrubs were flowering; but the bloom was not yet general. . . . Over the face of the country between Santa Cruz and Monterey, and around the plains of San Juan, the grass, which had been eaten down by the large herds of cattle, was now everywhere springing up and flowers began to show their bloom. In the valleys of the mountains bordering the Salinas River wild oats were three feet high and well headed."²³

Tranquility brooded over the land, peace in the hearts of the men. Time to go through the pass into the San Joaquin Valley and away again drew near, when, one dreamy afternoon the "quiet of the camp was disturbed by the sudden appearance of Lieutenant Chavez, a cavalry officer, with two men and a communication from the commanding general." This letter from General Castro peremptorily ordered all Americans from the territory of California and demanded instant compliance. Amazed, Captain Frémont replied:

"I desired him to say to General Castro that I peremptorily refused compliance to an order insulting to my government and myself." However, he hastily moved his camp to a stream near Gavilan Peak and in the morning the party followed a wood road up the mountain to a spot "which afforded wood, water and grass; and commanded a view of the surrounding country, including the valley of San Juan and the Salinas plain. In case

²² *Memoirs*, p. 454.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 458.

of exigency it opened a retreat to the San Joaquin."²⁴ On the summit a fort of logs was erected and a flagpole prepared.

The American flag, thrown to the breeze by the hand of Captain John Charles Frémont on Gavilan Peak, March 1846, for the first time floated over the land of California. Three days the flag waved. Then, seeing Castro in the valley below near the "late" Mission San Juan Bautista preparing for war, the surveying party discreetly moved northward.

In a letter to Mrs. Frémont, dated April 1, 1846, the captain describes the event and continues: "Of course I did not dare to compromise the United States against which appearances would have been strong; but, although it was in my power to increase my party by many Americans, I refrained from committing a solitary act of hostility or impropriety."²⁴ Frémont's star part had been played upon the stage of San Juan Bautista, but ere he left the lovely spot he gave a lasting thought to coming California. He wrote:

"The blue fields of the nemophya and this golden poppy represented fairly the skies and gold of California." The poppy, the flower he paused to gather in San Juan Valley, is the state emblem, the blue and gold are California's colors.

California became a state in the Union, electing as her first United States Senator, John Charles Frémont. Among the delegates to the convention in which he was elected were native Californians, José A. Carillo, J. M. Covarrubias, Pablo de la Guerra, Manuel Dominguez, Antonio M. Pico, Jacinto Rodriguez, and Mariano G. Vallejo; from Spain Manuel D. Pedro Rena and Pedro Sansevaine from Bordeaux.²⁵ Good fellowship prevailed and miracles were wrought in that convention. Of the native Californians, Herbert E. Bolton, Director of the Bancroft Library and creator of Spanish-American history in the University of California, says:

"It was the opinion of travelers of that time that the Californians were superior to other Spanish colonists in America, including Mexicans. And the superiority was variously ascribed to the greater degree of independence, social at least if not political, which they had attained through their far removal from Mexico and their lack of intercourse with the other colonies; and to the fact that, after the first settlements were

²⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 459.

²⁴ *Memoirs*, p. 461.

²⁵ Ross Browne, *Debates of the Convention of 1849*.

made, the greater majority of new colonists were of good Castilian blood; and to the influence of California itself. However, that may be, the life of the Californians presented phases not always seen in Spanish colonies. The beauties and graces of the Spanish character flowered there; and the harsher traits were modified. Perhaps the Californian bull fight may be cited as typical of this mellower spirit, for it lacked the sanguinary features which characterized the national sport in Spain and Mexico."²⁶

While men busied themselves with land claims, Indian reservations and other affairs of state, two dainty girls with the piety and grace of Spain and happy freedom of California began to write their names in the annals of San Juan Bautista, names that in the passing years became strangely mixed. For the Rose of the Rancho, Rose Castro, the second nun of California, sleeps in the Convent garden at Benicia beside the grave of Maria Concepcion de la Argüello, who with her entered the Dominican order after listening to a sermon delivered by the Spanish Bishop, later Archbishop Alemany, in Santa Barbara in 1852, while her sister Maria Antonia Castro became the heroine of romances and plays and is still called "The Rose."

"In answer to your question about Rose Castro," wrote Reverend Hugh Lavery, the Maryknoll missionary, March 11, 1919, "I want to say that the grave at San Juan Bautista which is looked upon as that of Rose Castro is the grave of Maria Antonia Castro. Jean Wharton Tully of Gilroy wrote a romance around the life of this girl and called it 'Juanita of San Juan.' When the story was shown to Belasco, the playwright, he decided to put it on the stage under the name of 'Rose of the Rancho.' The Rose that his play refers to is Maria Antonia Castro whose grave may be seen at San Juan Bautista. She is buried in the side aisle. Her son, Mr. Guadalupe Anzar, is still living at San Juan at the age of 77. He goes to Mass almost every morning."²⁷

Continuing the traditions of Franciscans and Dominicans the mission San Juan Bautista is being restored to its original charm by the Maryknoll Catholic Foreign Missionary Society. On the chain of missions along the Camino Real San Juan Bautista has for many reasons been regarded as the "treasure

²⁶ Bolton, *The Spanish Borderlands*.

²⁷ Rev. Hugh Lavery, first Maryknoll missionary to San Juan Bautista, in a letter.

house." Some of the vestments sent by monarchs of Spain to Mexico are said to be still at San Juan Bautista.

"Father Walsh, an energetic New Yorker who radiates the high pressure activity of a busy business man, founded the Maryknoll society eighteen years ago. It now has fifty-nine houses with its priests working extensively in China, Manchuria, and Korea."²⁸ Thus this story has run from Occident to Orient in Mission San Juan Bautista.

Yet, again quoting from Bolton, "California of our time commemorates the day when a people possessed by the energy of labor came to the Golden Gate. But it still bears indelibly stamped upon it, the imprint of Spain."²⁹ The imprint is best typified in the annual fiestas at San Juan Bautista.

On March 4, Native Sons³⁰ and Native Daughters of the Golden West assemble to celebrate Frémont's Day. Men and women form a horseback procession along the trail where he once rode to Gavalin Peak. The Stars and Stripes are thrown to the breeze on the spot where first our flag was raised in California. Cannons are fired, and, as night's shadows fall Spanish life comes back again; bonfires are lighted, national anthems sung, and the happy day closes with supper and dancing. For a week fiesta lingers. Many have attended Mass in the mission church in the morning and bowed their heads to the Angelus bells.

Again comes silence. Three moons roll away. Again is fiesta, the day of San Juan Bautista, he who taught in a wilderness and is now venerated in a garden spot. At 11 o'clock on the 24 of June 1929 High Mass was celebrated by priests of Maryknoll wearing the vestments of Spain.³¹ Later a play, "The Kingdom of Content," was enacted in the plaza by the "Daughters of the Dons," with Edward Preston Murphy from Santa Clara College in the principal part, that of Father Tapis.* As on Frémont Day there was a barbecue and hundreds, even thousands of visitors.

From Occident, the Franciscans, to Orient, the Maryknolls, Mission San Juan Bautista has seemed to slumber but is now

²⁸ Gilbert Gordan, Staff Correspondent, Pacific Coast News.

²⁹ Herbert E. Bolton, *Spanish Borderlands*.

³⁰ "Hijos del país," the first order of Native Sons, was organized at San Juan Bautista by José de Castro for political purposes.

³¹ These beautiful vestments are at least 132 years old. The Maryknoll Fathers maintain missions in the Orient.

* The play was not historically accurate, but charmingly entertaining.

awake. Here its story has been told as link by link in a rosary,
to which again "a cross is hung."

MAY STANISLAUS CORCORAN.

Berkeley, Cal.



PLAN OF FORT ORLEANS

Its location and that of the lands on the river of the Missouri
at XXXIX degrees XLV minutes of latitude.

Scale: one hundred and fifty feet.

Explanation of the alphabetical letters: A, Commandant's house. B, Officers' house. C, Chapel. D, Blacksmith's house. E, Forge. F, Chaplain's house. G, Storekeeper's house. H, Store. I, Guard-house. K, Drummer's house. L, Laundry. O, Barracks. P, Flag-staff. Q, Powder magazine. R, Embrasures for the cannon.

Explanation of the figures: 1, M. DeBourgmont's house. 2, His poultry-house. 3, His oven. 4, Ice-house. 5, Big garden. 6, His yard. 7, Little garden. 8, Store. 9, Field of tobacco. 10, Plot used as a kitchen-garden. 11, M. St. Ange's yard. 12, His house. 13, Storeroom. 14, House of M. St. Ange, *filz*, officer. 15, Storeroom. 16, His yard. 17, Little garden. 18, Soldiers' field. 19, Pond. 20, Island. 21, Prairie. 22, Big hills two leagues distant from the fort. 23, Road from the river to the fort. 24, Little embankment fifteen feet high.

DOCUMENTS

A HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED PLAN OF FORT ORLEANS ON THE MISSOURI.

DRAWN BY DUMONT DE MONTIGNY

The plan herewith presented of Fort Orleans (1723-1728) on the Missouri River in the present Carroll County, Missouri, was recently brought to light by the Baron Marc de Villiers of Paris, who has kindly forwarded a sketch of it together with accompanying explanation to the editor of MID-AMERICA for reproduction. Two studies of Baron de Villiers in Mississippi Valley history are especially noteworthy, *Les Années Dernières de la Louisiane Francaise* and *La Découverte du Missouri et l'histoire du Fort Orleans* (1673-1728), Paris, 1925, the latter work throwing considerable light on the first French military post built on the Missouri River. The following is cited from a study appearing in the *Missouri Historical Collections* (June, 1928), 5:263: "It was the generally accepted belief at one time that Fort Orleans was situated on an island and it is so shown on a map in Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, published at Paris in 1758. The first historian to fix its location with anything like accuracy is the Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage, an outstanding contemporary authority on all matters pertaining to the French occupation of the Mississippi Valley. . . . Baron de Villiers's researches on Fort Orleans are embodied in a study which he published as recently as 1925. By a careful collation of all available documentary data he arrived at the conclusion that the fort was located on the left or north bank of the Missouri at the Tetsau bend about two miles above the outlet of the Wakenda River in the present Carroll County. Now comes the Dumont de Montigny map [Karpinski photostat, Newberry Library, Chicago], and places the fort in a location almost identical with that assigned to it by the Baron. According to Dumont de Montigny, Fort Orleans was on the left bank of the Missouri, on the mainland and not on an island, and further up the river, apparently by a mile or two, than the point where the Baron de Villiers placed it."

It will be of interest to point out that the chapel indicated in the plan is, apart from the Jesuit mission-church at the

River Des Peres, St. Louis, 1701-1703, the first known house of religious worship in the State of Missouri.

A translation of Baron de Villiers's brief account (in French) in explanation of the plan follows:

"No plan of Fort Orleans, founded in 1723 on the Missouri River a little above its confluence with the Grand River, had been discovered before the finding of the one we are reproducing in this Review. This plan is preserved in the Colonial Office in a carton containing documents which have only recently been classified.

The numerous colors used by Dumont de Montigny unfortunately cannot be reproduced by photography and the ink used for the inscriptions has faded in places to such an extent that several of them are hard to decipher. We therefore thought that a cut from a very exact drawing¹ would allow the reader, much better than would a poor photogravure, to get a clear idea of the arrangement of the fort and its outbuildings.

Dumont de Montigny's plan shows that the settlement founded by Veynard de Bourgmond was more important than might have been supposed. Moreover, the document seems quite accurate, for Bourgmond in his correspondence² speaks of "the apartment which served as a church," of the store, the powder-magazine "situated in one of the bastions," the houses of the chaplain and the tool-maker, the forge, the ice-house and of his [the commandant's] poultry-yard, around which he had had to erect a palisade to protect his chickens and pigs from the voracity of the Kansas Indians' dogs.

In January, 1724, the house built by Bourgmond on his particular concession was still without a real chimney. "We used to make the fire," he says, "in the center of the house as the Indians do." The house was thatched with grass and the walls were of plain unsquared logs. Later, no doubt a chimney was built, and to make the house more comfortable, the logs were covered with a sort of mud, a mixture of clay and straw. For this latter moss is often used in America as a substitute.

One may note a certain architectural finish in the gable of the commandant's house, in the embellishments which adorn the doorways, no two of which are alike, and in the care with which

¹ Both figures and letters have been shifted slightly to make it easier to read them. Part of the legends were written at the bottom of the plan.

² See "La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort d'Orleans." Paris, Champion, 1925, Chapter VIII.

the flower and kitchen-gardens had been laid out after the French style. Bourgmont evidently had confidence in the future of his establishment in Missouri and if a wealthy marriage had not prevented him from returning to America, with a chief like him, the future of Fort Orleans would no doubt have been very different.

A rather amusing detail is that the captain's house has three front windows, the lieutenant's, only two, while the ensign has but one. Rigorous regard was paid to rank.

It is somewhat difficult to assign an exact date to the plan, for it does not seem that Bourgmont, the two Saint Ange de Bellerives, and Dumont de Montigny were ever all together at Fort Orleans. The younger Saint Ange came with Bourgmont; his father brought munitions to the settlement in May, 1724, but he does not appear to have remained there long and Dumont was not likely a member of his party.

When, after it had been completely abandoned for a few years, an officer and some soldiers came to reoccupy Fort Orleans, many of the buildings, not having been kept in repair, must then have been in a rather shabby state, and the new commandant must have had to settle in Bourgmont's old house. So the plan seems to us to have been drawn shortly after Bourgmont's departure and at a time when his speedy return was still expected. If this hypothesis is correct, then Dumont's map was probably made between 1725 and 1727.

No account is to be taken of the latitude indicated, which is evidently inexact, and the scale of the plan applies only to the fort and its outbuildings. Besides Dumont takes good care to indicate in the legend that the "big hills" (marked No. 22, and at the foot of which flowed the Wakenda) "are at a distance of *two leagues* from the fort." To judge from the width of the prairie, vaguely indicated by Bourgmont, this distance appears somewhat exaggerated.

Will the discovery of this plan at last make it possible to locate the exact site of the fort of Orleans? This question can only be answered by a study made on the spot. It seems to us that it would be worth while to undertake an exploration so that a cross and a tablet might mark the site of the first chapel and the first fort erected in the State of Missouri.³

³ See in "The Missouri Historical Society Collections (vol. V, no. 3, 1928) the interesting article in which the Reverend G. J. Garraghan has already expressed the same wish.

Two particularly interesting indications are to be noted on Dumont's plan: the first shows that the Missouri, as we have already pointed out in *La Déconverte du Missouri*, did indeed flow in an approximately northeast direction near the fort; the second that a little "ecors" [levee] fifteen feet high protected the establishment against the Missouri floods.

The map also indicates two creeks which it might be possible to identify, for, if the plan is exact, they take their rise northeast of where the hills are highest.

The plan is 38 centimeters in width by 49 in height. The absence of any palisade to the west of the kitchen-garden and the tobacco-field, as well as the fact that no gates are marked, show that for lack of space Dumont could not indicate the exact limits of these two plots of ground.

The site of the Prairie (No. 21), left blank on this map, is studded on the original with irregular spots, which no doubt indicate a somewhat marshy soil."

NEWS AND COMMENTS

A recent issue (May-June, 1929) of *Nova Francia*, a bi-monthly issued in Paris as the organ of the Société d'Histoire du Canada, reproduces the text of a hitherto unpublished Journal of a Jesuit missionary in Louisiana, Père de Vitry. He was chaplain to the troops in a punitive expedition that went out (1738-1739) against the Chickasaw Indians after the tragic overthrow of the French in which perished Vincennes, D'Artaquiette and Père Senat, the Jesuit. Père de Vitry has left us in his Journal a graphic and detailed account of this expedition, an account which is a precious and unexpected addition to the source material for the history of eighteenth century Louisiana. MID-AMERICA hopes to be able in a subsequent issue to lay this remarkable document before its readers in an English dress. The original of the Journal, it may be said here, is in the private archives of the Count E. de Chabannes La Palice and was an interesting feature of the Jesuit documentary material on exhibition in the Exposition Rétrospective des Colonies Françaises de l'Amerique du Nord held this current year in Paris.

The sketch of William J. Onahan reviewed in the present issue of MID-AMERICA revives the memory of an interesting circumstance in the career of that well-known Chicago citizen which connects him with the passing away of Stephen A. Douglas. The Little Giant had died a Catholic, being baptized in his last moments by Bishop Duggan of Chicago, who also delivered an address when the deceased statesman was laid away in his last resting place. A copy of this address, before it was delivered, was made from the prelate's notes by Mr. Onahan, who often served in the capacity of lay-secretary to the former and who in latter years put on record some of the circumstances, as he learned them from eye witnesses, of Douglas's death in the Tremont House, Chicago. Strange that within recent years a new interest begins to center around the personality of this historic figure whose star went into eclipse as Lincoln's began to dominate the political firmament. One often needs the perspective of time to discern the real lineaments of prominent actors in public events and Douglas seems to be a case in point. Genuine appreciation of the man as he was comes to the surface in

Beveridge's *Lincoln* and the author of that noble fragment is reported to have said that if he ever finished that elaborate task in biography he would next take in hand the biography of Lincoln's famous rival.

Professor Hodder of the University of Kansas, than whom no other living student of history possesses a larger range of information on the career of Douglas, has given wide currency to the view that the Illinois statesman's politics in connection with the Kansas-Nebraska bill were motived by a desire not to extend slavery but to promote the building of railroads through the Trans-Mississippi West. Such a program was impossible so long as the West remained closed to settlers and with a view to open it up to settlement Douglas introduced his famous measure that in the end spelt his own political ruin. It used to be said and perhaps nine-tenths of the history books perpetuate the legends, that Douglas was a pro-slavery sympathizer, that he aimed at the extension of slavery into western territory and that the Kansas-Nebraska bill with its repeal of the Missouri compromise was a bid for Southern support in his alleged overweening ambition to reach the White House. The emptiness of these charges, born of the passions and hatreds of the most virulent period in our national politics, has at last become apparent and Douglas is seen to have played the noble role of a consistent and powerful friend of Western economic development. As an instance of the manner in which this newer estimate of Douglas's political program has won acceptance it may be noted that one finds it embodied in Professor Charles W. Ramsdell's noteworthy presidential address at the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association in Vincennes, Indiana, April 25-27, 1929. "It is well known now," Ramsdell declared, "chiefly through the studies of Professor Frank Hodder that Douglas's purpose in introducing the [Kansas-Nebraska] bill was to promote the building of a Pacific railroad west from Chicago, not to extend slavery."

DEDICATION OF MARQUETTE-JOLLIET MONUMENT AT GRAFTON, ILLINOIS

Sunday, September 1, 1929, was a day of triumph for the several hundred inhabitants of Grafton, Illinois. On that day nearly four thousand people came by train, by boat, by auto, and on foot to this quiet hamlet where two and a half centuries ago a great event had taken place. Shops and homes were decorated with flags and bunting, which with the sunshine and the Sunday air gave the place the aspect of celebration. Special trains had arrived from St. Louis and the steamer *Capitol* came up from Alton and was docked almost at the very spot where the great event had taken place. Besides men, women and children, there were bands and soldiers and boy scouts and camp-fire girls and, last but not least, the full-dressed Knights of Columbus with their baldrics and with harmless swords at their sides. The occasion was the formal dedication of a monument marking the spot where Father James Marquette, Louis Jolliet, and their five companions entered Illinois in the summer of 1673 by the Illinois river, which meets the Mississippi at Grafton, for here at Grafton the Illinois River enters the Mississippi. Through the generosity of Mr. H. H. Ferguson of Alton this historic spot, which is a part of his eight-hundred acre estate, has been set aside for a monument to commemorate the first entrance of the white man into the present state of Illinois. The celebration was under the auspices of the local Chamber of Commerce, but the monument was the gift of Mr. Ferguson, who has taken a great interest in early Illinois history.

After the singing of "America" the Rt. Rev. James A. Griffin, D. D., Bishop of Springfield, wearing a gold cloth cope and mitre and carrying his bishop's crozier, ascended the steps that lead to the dolomite cross which surmounts a huge natural rock. The bishop was attended by monsignori and priests and the cross was blessed after the traditional manner of the Catholic rite. Mounted on three Calvary steps the cross stands on the ledge of a bluff weather-beaten to a dull grey so that it serves admirably as a background for the cross, which is carved out of the native buff rock. The site, too, is well chosen as the cross is visible for miles up and down the Illinois River. The monument bears the following inscription:

AT THIS PLACE
IN THE EARLY AUGUST OF
1673
MARQUETTE, JOLLIET AND FIVE COMPANIONS
ENTERED ILLINOIS
DAWN HERALDS OF RELIGION, CIVIL GOVERNMENT
AND CONSECRATED LABOR
DEDICATED SEPT. 1, 1929
RT. REV. JAMES A. GRIFFIN, D.D.
BISHOP OF SPRINGFIELD, ILLINOIS

Back of the people the Illinois River sparkled in the sunlight as it did that summer day two hundred and fifty-six years ago when its beauty so impressed Marquette. Below the road from which the steps lead to the monument is a plain that was once the bed of the Illinois River but is today dotted with people who have come to attend the pontifical field Mass, the religious feature of the celebration, and the acceptance of the monument by the state, which was the civic feature of the celebration. Near the road a platform had been built, at one end of which was the canopied altar while at the other end were chairs for the choir and distinguished guests. Bishop Griffin celebrated the Solemn High Mass and he was assisted as follows: Rev. Francis B. Kehoe of Alton, assistant priest; Rev. M. J. Cummins of Grafton and Rev. J. J. Clancy of Jerseyville, deacons of honor; Rev. N. B. Schnelton of Brussels, deacon of the Mass and Rev. J. R. Moloney of Alton, suddeacon of the Mass. Msgr. Amos E. Giusti of Springfield and Rev. George Powell of Granite City also assisted. In the sanctuary were Monsignors E. L. Spalding, V. G., of Alton, M. A. Tarrent of Springfield, M. J. Foley of Quincy, and many priests from the adjacent territory. Governor and Mrs. Emmerson and Mr. Caulfield, a brother of the Governor of Missouri, occupied places of honor at the right of the altar.

After the Mass Bishop Griffin spoke briefly of the great debt Church and State owe to Marquette and his intrepid companions and concluded by introducing Mr. Cornelius J. Doyle of Springfield as the chairman of the day. Mr. Doyle made an eloquent speech, in which he emphasized the civic significance of the occasion and the contribution to America that was made by Marquette, Jolliet, La Salle and the early pioneers. Then Mr. J. D. McAdams of the Alton *Telegraph* presented in the name of Mr. H. H. Ferguson the memorial to the state. Mr. McAdams told of the perils faced by Marquette, who came only to serve others,

to bring civilization and religion to the Indians. Generations shall pass, but the name of Marquette will ever be honored as that of a man of sacrificial fervour and it was fitting that the monument should be entrusted to the state that it might be preserved for the generations to come. Then Governor Louis L. Emmerson speaking for the state of Illinois accepted the monument. Among other things he said: "It is a great privilege and a pleasure to appear on the oldest historic spot in Illinois and to realize that soon a water-way system will give this section its opportunity for greatness. Pere Marquette was willing to forego fame and wealth and luxuriated home to explore for the world that tractless wilderness of a foreign land. La Salle sought glory for himself and his king; Marquette sought only new peoples to whose well-being he might contribute."

The celebration was brought to a fitting close by the singing of the state song, *Illinois*. It was an outstanding celebration that spoke volumes for the public spirited cooperation of the People of Grafton and Alton.

FREDERIC SIEDENBURG, S. J.
*President Illinois Catholic
 Historical Society*

The sermon on the occasion, preached by Rev. Frederic Siedenburger, S. J., Dean of the School of Sociology, Loyola University, Chicago, and President of the Illinois Catholic Historical Society, follows:

The great American historian Baneroft, writing of Marquette nearly one hundred years ago said, "the people of the West will build his monument." Today we are gathered here in this historic spot to emphasize anew the fulfillment of this prophesy. On this very spot Father James Marquette and Louis Jolliet entered the Illinois River while on their return voyage from the mouth of the Arkansas in the summer of 1673—256 years ago. They were the first white men to view the natural glories of these hills and bluffs where the Illinois River flows into the mighty Father of Waters and we are here today to commemorate that event.

This is not only an historic spot but it is also a holy one, for it is not unlikely that here Marquette celebrated the sacrifice of the Mass, the first time in the present State of Illinois, and hence it is most appropriate that the monument we dedicate today should be the mighty symbol of our redemption and that a bishop should come from afar to celebrate with pomp the same sacred sacrifice that Marquette perhaps then celebrated with greatest simplicity. It is also most appropriate that the Governor of a great state, the ruler of six million people, should honor this occasion with his presence and receive this monument in the name of the State of Illinois because Marquette belongs not only to the Catholic Church but also to Illinois.

It was not only generosity, it was vision that prompted the donor of this vast park and beautiful monument, Mr. H. H. Ferguson, to make all this possible, and it is fitting that he, too, be present on this historic occasion. Not only today and tomorrow but for the years to come this monument will be a testimony that great deeds live after them and that it is not always true that "republics are ungrateful." In these regions this monument and park will tell to future ages the story of Marquette and Jolliet but they will also tell the generosity and vision of H. H. Ferguson. ..

Bancroft said of Marquette "the people of the West will build his monument"; but the great American historian never dreamed of the vast scale on which his prophesy would be fulfilled. Monuments and memorials honor him in many states and in the capital at Washington his heroic statue is in the Hall of Fame as one of the two representatives of the state of Wisconsin. Counties, cities, towns and a river bear his name, as do universities, schools, buildings and boulevards, while railroads and automobiles carry the name of Pere Marquette to the four corners of the country.

Jolliet too, has been commemorated in statue and story in many ways, especially in Illinois and in Canada where he was born. As a young man Louis Jolliet studied in the Jesuit college at Quebec, where he also began to prepare for the priesthood; but he gave up his studies, moved perhaps by the spirit of the frontier, for adventure and became an outstanding explorer and trader and was selected by Governor Frontenac to conduct the great exploration. Later in life Jolliet explored Labrador and became a government geographer. He was one of the first native Americans to achieve lasting fame.

The name of Marquette became known in Europe as soon as the journal of his explorations and missions was published and his fame has increased because time has shown the accuracy and scientific value of his accounts. He descended from a distinguished French family and at seventeen he became a Jesuit to dedicate his life to religion and education. In spite of a great love of books and the handicap of a frail physique, his zeal prompted him to seek the dangerous and difficult Canadian missions. In 1666, at the age of twenty-nine years, he set out for Quebec to prepare for his mission life among the Indians. During the next six years he was sent to various Indian missions and besides learning six Indian languages he was trained to the hardships of primitive Indian life. From the Indians he heard of a great river which flowed southward but no one knew whither and he also heard of gentle Illinois Indians who worshipped the sun and the thunder. In 1672, while he was at St. Ignace, his friend Jolliet came to him with orders to join in the exploration of the mysterious river. Together they drew maps and prepared themselves for the journey.

The story of this journey of Marquette and Jolliet is known to every school child from the pages of American history; how they were the first white men to make known effectively to the world the great Mississippi River; how they opened up to the world this wonderful valley which today teems with millions of free and happy people. With five companions in two birch canoes, they set forth from Mackinac in May, 1673, skirted along the north shore of Lake Michigan into Green Bay, then up the Fox River and across a short portage into the Wisconsin River until on June 17, 1673, they set eyes upon the great and mysterious Father of Waters—just a month after leaving Mackinac. Down the river they paddled their birch canoes, passing the mouth of the Missouri and Ohio, on and on until they reached the Arkansas where they learned with certainty that the Mississippi

flowed into the Gulf of Mexico. Fear of hostile Indians and the enmity of the Spaniards prompted them to turn their canoes northward and return.

Their return trip was difficult for now they had to paddle against the stream and they were no doubt glad when they reached the Illinois River and found it as Marquette says in his journal "the most beautiful place that they had seen." Friendly Indians assured them that the Illinois River was a shorter route to the Big Lake and the northland. They paddled up the river to Kaskaskia near the present site of Utica and here they were kindly received by the Illinois Indians. Marquette promised the Indians to return later and then the party journeyed on to the Mission of St. Francis Xavier at the head of Green Bay. Here Marquette turned over to Jolliet his diary of the voyage, which had been carefully kept and which is one of the most important documents in American history. Jolliet hurried on to Quebec to announce the great tidings of discovery. Before landing an accident upset one of the canoes and all original maps and journals were lost in the St. Lawrence River.

Today, with our ease and comfort of modern transportation, we marvel at the courage and endurance of these seven men paddling a canoe 2500 miles over strange and treacherous waters with dangers from man and beast on all sides. Four months of mental anxiety and bodily hardship and perhaps failure in the end. Only devotion to God and loyalty to Country can give a reason for such an enterprise and such an achievement.

Marquette had promised the Illinois Indians he would return and the next year, though in feeble health, he canoed with two French servants down the Lake and reached the mouth of the Chicago River. His condition grew worse and his companions forced him to spend the winter in a hut on a site which is now the intersection of Damen Avenue with one of the forks of the Chicago River. With the coming of spring he continued his way to the Illinois Indians by whom he was received "as an angel from heaven" and with whom he made a short stay. They begged him to stay with them always, but Marquette was sick, in fact he felt that his death was near and he wished to die among his own in Canada. His companions accordingly set out with him for St. Ignace, but when they reached what is now Ludington, Michigan, they brought Marquette ashore and there with a calm prayer upon his lips he died May 18, 1675. His companions marked his grave with a large cross and later a band of Ottawa Indians carried his remains to the Church of St. Ignace opposite Mackinac.

Marquette and Jolliet were both, in education and feeling, Catholic and French, but both were so broad in their sympathies and understanding that they have been eulogized by English as well as French, by non-Catholic as well as Catholic. Though Marquette was a priest and a Jesuit, non-Catholic writers and historians like Jared Sparks, and Reuben Gold Thwaites have always taken him to their hearts and have seen in him not only an intrepid discoverer but a true disciple of Jesus Christ. They have paid tribute to his modest bravery, to his exquisite scholarship, to his human sympathy, and especially to his supreme sanctity, seeing in him another Christ yearning to spend himself for others and like his fellow-missionaries, Jogues and Breboeuf, to die for Christ.

Marquette was a man of delicate health and unfitted for the rough life of the wilderness. His was a gentle manner but it concealed a will of iron. His dominant desire was to seek new lands and to carry to them the gospel of Christ. His model in this mission was the great St. Francis Xavier who spread the faith through fifty-two kingdoms in Asia. In many respects Marquette's life paralleled

that of St. Francis Xavier, for when death overtook him on the lonely shore of Lake Michigan he gave thanks that he could die as he had always prayed like St. Francis Xavier, who a century before expired forsaken on the Island of Sancian off the coast of China.

We are here to celebrate the glory of Marquette the missionary and of Jolliet the explorer, and to dedicate this imperishable dolomite to their memory. Both these men were devoted to a cause that should make an appeal to us today, two and a half centuries later. Marquette dedicated his life to God, Jolliet dedicated his to country, and in these dedications we see the fulfillment of a perfect life. This theme is too vast for my feeble words yet it is such an inspiration that we men and women living in the region of the lakes and rivers traversed by Marquette and Jolliet, must ask ourselves whether we are following in their loyalties, in their devotion to God and Country.

Both these men ennobled their lives by devotion to a cause; they gave much but they also received much, for they had the consciousness that their service to God and Country was also service to their fellow-men. Both Marquette and Jolliet had learned the great secret of life, that it is more blessed to give than to receive; that we get out of life what we give to it and that the joy is greatest when we give most. Like Marquette and Jolliet may we render our services with gentle power, intrepid ardor and sincere piety.

Though men readily forget, the dead two and one half centuries have not dimmed the memory of Marquette and Jolliet and this new monument, dedicated to the fine idealism of their lives, will perpetuate that memory for centuries to come.

BOOK REVIEWS

My Minnesota. By Antoinette E. Ford, Chicago, Lyons and Carnahan, 1929, 416 pp.

In the volumes appearing lately which deal with Minnesota and the Northwest one meets with what might be called a strange silence in regard to the finding of the Rune Stone. Discovered near Kensington, Minnesota, in 1898 this stone with its fourteenth century message in runic characters concerning the Norsemen and Goths lost in the northwestern wilderness, seems too startling a thing to be true; it may be a monstrous hoax and then again it may not be. It has had valiant champions contending for its genuineness; in the periodicals of the Minnesota and Wisconsin State Historical Societies a great deal of literature pertaining to it has appeared for years, especially for instance, in *Minnesota History*, volumes I to VIII. In the *Catholic Historical Review*, October, 1920, Dr. Francis J. Schaeffer lists fifty-two articles published up to that time alone in prominent magazines in America and Europe on this subject. One would imagine that at least a paragraph could be fitly devoted to the Rune Stone and to the evaluation of its authenticity in any historical work dealing with Minnesota.

In view of this apparent attitude of extreme caution and suspicion toward the Rune Stone, one is doubly surprised to find the author of *My Minnesota* boldly asserting that Radisson and Groseilliers in 1655 discovered the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, tarried there three weeks and ascended the river and Lake Pepin. Whether these redoubtable explorers ever reached the Mississippi at any point is a much disputed question and the weight of learned opinion until clearer historical testimony to the contrary is presented will lean toward the Marquette-Jolliet claim of discovery in 1673.

With these two points duly disposed of, one cannot but give generous praise to *My Minnesota* not only as a textbook for boys and girls, but as an engaging bit of reading to anyone interested in the state of ten thousand lakes. It is not a mere history in the ordinary sense; it is an intelligent description of the agricultural and industrial development of Minnesota. Social and economic matters, often difficult of simple treatment, are handled in a way to make them easily digestible by the

youthful mind. The author is eminently fair in her unfolding of the part Catholicity played in the development of the state's history. However, without in the least detracting from this statement, it might be mentioned that in describing the now famous execution of the thirty-eight Indians at Mankato in 1862 after the Sioux Massacre, she merely states that "the good priest, Father Ravoux from St. Paul, said a prayer in which the Indians united." As a matter of fact, Fathers Ravoux and Somereisen baptized thirty of the thirty-eight Sioux and gave Holy Communion to three of the others, Catholic half-breeds.

The author's choice of illustrations for the book could not be improved upon either from the point of beauty or of practicality. A nicely arranged index adds to the volume's serviceability.

MATTHIAS M. HOFFMAN.

Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics. By Charles Edward Merriam, New York, Macmillan Company, 1929.

To one desirous of learning about the machinery of government in Chicago, the name of Charles Edward Merriam as author gives promise of interest and information. In *Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics* this promise is amply fulfilled. It may hardly be necessary to state that Mr. Merriam is professor of political science in the University of Chicago, served as alderman in the City Council of Chicago for six years, and has been a participant in numerous studies of local affairs, such as municipal expenditures, for example. He has both theoretical and practical knowledge of his subject. Bibliographical foot-notes add to the value of the book.

In view of the bad name Chicago has at home and abroad, it is reassuring to be told that "gangland" represents only one phase of the city's life. The Chicago Plan, being gradually carried out by the "city builders," demonstrates the fact that many Chicagoans have high ideals of their city, physical, mental, and moral, and these ideals are taking form in beautiful buildings, fine streets, parks and forest preserves, great universities and various foundations for social betterment. "In Loyola, Father Siedenbergh particularly has interested himself in the social development of Chicago from the scientific point of view."

Chicago is unique in that its population of four million has been reached in less than a century. Such phenomenally rapid growth from French discovery to negro immigration, during

which nearly every nationality on the globe has played a part in local affairs, has naturally created unusual conditions. The racial element, however, is only one of many making up the organization known as the City of Chicago. There are the political parties, business interests, the press, women voters, religious groups, civic societies, labor, professional groups and others. Also, within the government there are many independent governmental bodies, such as the Sanitary District, Board of Education and Park Districts. "The overlapping and confusion of these governments presents a very serious problem of political control." Add to this confusion the action and reaction of various races, parties, interests, and groups and it becomes evident that there are many hindrances to efficient government.

In regard to religion, Mr. Merriam says: "The raising of religious issues without warrant or relation to the actual problems of the time inevitably affects city government detrimentally and those who stir the embers of religious rivalry and bitterness, whatever their motives, serve the city badly."

A study of political conditions necessarily includes a study of the men and women who have influenced those conditions. We are given pen pictures of mayors, "bosses," labor leaders, welfare workers, leaders of "big business," both men and women. "These sketches are not designed as fundamental studies of political traits, but to illustrate the political life of Chicago." In the political make-up of Chicago we find characteristics of each of its leaders, whether politicians, as Thompson, Deneen or Harrison, representatives of corporations like Insull, philanthropists such as Rosenwald, idealists like Jane Addams.

The chapter "Actual Government" describes the functioning of the City Council, the duties of an alderman, and the scope of the Mayor's office. There is an interesting paragraph giving a glimpse into the minds of aldermen undecided as to how to vote on a proposed ordinance. "Their minds are running swiftly through the possibilities. How will it affect them? What will their boss say? What will the newspapers say? What will the administration . . . say? What will the Municipal Voters' League say? What will the gang say?" To quote again: "Administration is an organ with many keys, and many tempos and varying volumes of sound; and skill lies in the combinations that produce harmonious music."

In the concluding chapter the writer speaks with optimism of the future of Chicago. "The strength of Chicago lies in its

broad economic basis, in its new blend of racial types, in its dynamic energy . . . in its free spirit. . . . These are not destiny itself, but the materials out of which the garment may be woven on the loom of time."

ETHEL OWEN MERRILL.

Life of William J. Onahan. Stories of Men Who Made Chicago.

By Mary Onahan Gallery, Chicago, Loyola University Press, 1929, pp. 74. Price \$1.50.

This is an interesting little book about a man whose memory deserves to be rescued from the encroachments of oblivion. It will be of particular interest to anyone who happens to be, like the present reviewer, a minute particle of Chicago in the days of Mr. Onahan's prominence. He was a shining star in my boyhood firmament, a remote star that swam into my ken on great occasions when he awarded prizes at school commencements or stood on reviewing stands with other personages. As I analyse my young impressions, he was in appearance a composite of an ambassador, a poet, and a retired cavalry leader. The excellent likeness, which serves as the frontispiece of the present volume, bears out my early impressions. It is the sensitive face of a poet, like Coventry Patmore's, with something of the hawk-like dash and fearlessness one sees in a picture of General Roberts.

Mr. Onahan was undoubtedly the most conspicuous, and probably the most energetic lay Catholic in Chicago during the days of its early growth. He came to Chicago a poor boy with little formal education. His triumph over the drawbacks of poverty and deficiency of schooling is an all but incredible achievement. He must have inherited the tastes of a scholar and virtuoso; but the process of developing them demanded the sacrifice of such leisure as could be spared from the exactions of bread-winning. He was the recipient of the Laetare Medal in 1890, and, three years later in recognition of his services in the Catholic Congresses of Baltimore and Chicago he was made a Camereri of the Cape and Sword by Pope Leo XIII. Both honors indicate national rather than local prominence.

And, yet, while Mr. Onahan was winning national distinction as a Catholic scholar, he was all the time a notable figure in the business and politics of his city. I do not know what Mr. Onahan's political ambitions were; but I suspect, whatever they were, he realized them. He was, of course, a purist in politics; and, I suppose, a purist cannot hope to go far in political life

unless he has genius and inclination. The striking thing in Mr. Onahan's career is that, with his tastes and ideals, he engaged actively in political life at all. And, more striking still, that he should have wrested a certain measure of success from elements of the electorate not particularly favorable to political purists. Needless to say, his influence in this sphere was helpful to coreligionists in the perennial handicap of hostile environment. Probably it was this consideration which reconciled him to activities remote from his natural tastes.

Mrs. Gallery has written her book with filial care and affection. But she does not leave the reader satisfied. All the signs are here of an extraordinary man. We do not see the man himself. What kind of man was this who was on easy terms with old Carter Harrison and Phil Armour, who was the friend of bishops and archbishops and cardinals, on the one hand, and of the notorious Mike McDonald, on the other; who was taken into the intimacy of the great Archbishop Ireland; who knew equally well Celtic manuscripts and the tracasseries of Chicago politics; who was at home in fashionable drawing rooms, on college platforms, in Catholic congresses, at noisy political rallies, and knew how to preside at a meeting of bank-directors? There is opportunity here for portraiture, but this book does not seize it. The final impression is admiration, seeking explanation and meeting disappointment. No doubt space-limitations had much to do with this result; also, perhaps, the intelligible reticences of one writing the life-story of a parent. But one hopes that a biography of Mr. Onahan on a scale and with an adequacy of portrayal proportionate to his unique position in American Catholic church history for half a century will be taken in hand.

JAMES J. DALY, S. J.

Die Kongregation De Propaganda Fide und ihre Tatigkeit in Nord-Amerika. Von R[aymond] Corrigan, [S. J.], E. Joergen, Munich, 1928, pp. 183.

Within recent years public attention in this country has been directed to the Congregation De Propaganda Fide, usually designated by the familiar abbreviation of Propaganda. Founded in 1622 under Gregory XV and entrusted with the care of all the Catholic Missions of the world, it commemorated in 1922 three glorious centuries of achievement. This occasion gave birth to extensive laudatory literature on the part of both Catholic and

non-Catholic writers. Even before this the action of Pius X (29 June, 1908), removing Canada and the United States, together with several other countries, definitely from the jurisdiction of Propaganda, centred attention on the labors of this famous Congregation.

But the reviews and appreciations were of a general character. No one had ever devoted a critical and searching study to the part Propaganda played in the development of missionary activity in America. The work of Dr. Corrigan, Professor of History in the University of Detroit, has made an excellent beginning, which enables the reader for the first time to appreciate the precise relations of the celebrated Congregation with the establishment and spread of Catholicity on the American continent and the adjacent islands known as the Lesser Antilles.

One might carry away from the reading of this scholarly volume a feeling of disappointment over the small share Propaganda had in implanting the faith in America unless one constantly bore in mind the limits set for himself by the author. He is describing merely the beginnings of the activity of the Sacred Congregation in America, as far as 1700. Hence only a part of a century's work, and that the least brilliant, falls under his scope. This limitation should be noted in the very title to avoid confusion. The sub-title is more precise: "*Die Propaganda in Amerika im 17 Jahrhundert.*"

After a brief preliminary survey and a critical evaluation of the vast source material, the body of the work is divided into three sections or chapters. The first describes the Congregation of Propaganda in general, its origin, constitution, purpose, and the chief problems and difficulties encountered in the functioning of so complicated and far-reaching an organization. A second chapter presents the limited field of activity envisaged by the author, comprising all of America under English and French rule, to the exclusion of the Spanish-Portuguese lands. The latter are excluded because the relations between them and Propaganda are of so diverse a nature that they require special treatment. The Spanish missions had already existed for a century and the hierarchy was solidly established before the missions of the other nations ever came into being. The English-French territory had three political and geographical centres from which radiated the various civil and spiritual influences, viz. Quebec, Maryland, and the Island of St. Christopher.

The fascinating story of their respective struggles and reverses in the spiritual sphere are briefly reviewed. Political machinations, persecutions and lack of cooperation on the part of civil authorities, rather than climatic conditions or the cruelty of the natives, hampered religious development. Yet we are reminded (p. 52) of the remarkable fact that "a religious motive was responsible for the foundation of most of the permanent colonies."

After these preparatory sections the author proceeds to unfold the activity of propaganda in each of the three fields previously described. Here the author is at most pains to give a definite picture. From his scholarly analysis of the three distinct problems and their handling we learn both the weaknesses and the strength of Propaganda influence in the American missions of the seventeenth century.

One of the surprises to the reader is the emphasis placed on the weaknesses. Thus the repeated statement that most of the good work of the missions was going on without even the knowledge of Propaganda comes as a startling revelation. The Roman officials of that century had only the vaguest notions of the geographical situation, so that Africa, the Antilles, Canada, and even Asia, were, more or less, a single confused map to them (cf. p. 47). Communication was excessively difficult; information was hard to obtain, and often given by wild dreamers, whose false representations misled the Cardinals. The latter were soon taught to be sufficiently cautious to "ask for further information," a phrase that recurs with exasperating frequency in the documents. Consequent delays allowed desperate situations to go on for years without receiving proper attention. Besides, there was the ambitious, short-sighted Ingoli, first secretary of the Congregation, who for twenty-nine years (p. 38) pursued an impossible ideal of centralization, and often allowed personal views and selfish aims to dictate his policy. In this instance the secretary was a magnate rather than a scribe. Furthermore there were annoying differences and misunderstandings between the Congregation and the heads of the Religious Orders to contend with, not to mention the differences existing amongst the Orders themselves. With all this accumulation of drawbacks which fill the pages of the Archives of the Congregation, one is inclined to ask, "what did Propaganda do after all to further missionary interests in America? The au-

thor apparently expects the reader to have gathered this impression, for he remarks (p. 174): "The reader will have observed that the history of the missions in North America in the 17th century, especially in Canada and Maryland, would have taken practically the same course if Propaganda had not existed at all."

There is, however, a significant paragraph at the end of the volume which tends to remove this unfavorable impression. Dr. Corrigan says (p. 181): "We have endeavored to portray the activity of the Congregation of Propaganda in English-French America (he might well here again have repeated the important time limit of *the seventeenth century*.) If its positive achievements do not appear very striking, this is not the fault of the Congregation. The latter had after all done what it could; and before the end of the first century of its existence it had full control of the incipient churches in the three parts of the new world. It could afford to wait another hundred years until the natural development of events offered opportunity for further expansion."

Perhaps more prominence might have been given to this exonerating paragraph; the mind cannot so easily shake off its critical attitude gathered from the previous pages. But Dr. Corrigan had not set out to praise Propaganda. He has presented evidence, and that evidence should convince the reader that the great Congregation accomplished, shortly after its inception, what human endeavor might scarcely be expected to accomplish: it had firmly established its mighty organization in our country in the face of a thousand difficulties and was now prepared for a glorious career of two centuries in our midst. There was pioneer work to be done by Propaganda, and it involved both the enormous labor and the apparent barrenness of results which characterize such beginnings.

We may be grateful to Dr. Corrigan for this enlightening, sober history of the beginnings of Propaganda in America which enables us to admire with deeper appreciation the mighty tree that has sprung from so insignificant a mustard seed.

St. Louis, Mo.

ALOYSIUS C. KEMPER, S. J.

Mad Anthony Wayne. By Thomas Boyd, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, \$3.50.

Some years ago the reviewer of this book read Hilaire Belloc's delightful story, *Marie Antoinette*. We intentionally call it

a story for although it is sober history it reads like a novel. Only at times in the dread realities of the difficulties and fighting and executions at Paris does one bring to his mind that he has a history and not a story in his hands. The same may be said of the present biography of Anthony Wayne by Thomas Boyd. The opening chapter has the setting of a novel and throughout the book one must check up the narrative to convince himself that he is reading a biography and that the events are the stern realities of a great war.

Anthony Wayne had a weakness for smart uniforms and smart regiments. The writer of his life, seems to know just when and how often Anthony powdered his wig and fixed the ruffles of his coat and how often he insisted on his soldiers shaving and looking their best. But Mr. Boyd also knows just how the English looked and how nature acted. Thus he writes of the last day at Yorktown: "Waves lashed up out of the dark and sent fine salt spray on scarlet tunics. Overhead the skies seemed to crack, resounding louder and louder than the most heartily exploding guns. There were fiercely singing winds that swirled the water triumphantly . . ."

However, the smart clothes did not in any way interfere with the activity of Mad Anthony Wayne. This story of his life takes him quickly through his first campaign, that of Canada, and back to Ticonderoga and the other important battles of the Revolutionary War. Although Lee was fearful about the action of Wayne and Saint Clair was doubtful and Washington hesitated, one important mission after another was given him and he did his work well. His name is closely connected with the storming and capture of Stony Point, but the action was so rapid and the plan so simple, that the event forms a very small part in the life of the general.

A biography like this, where details are possible, brings to our minds the heroic struggles of our ancestors for liberty. Here we read of the disappointments, the jealousies, the misunderstandings, and the long and acute sufferings of both soldiers and leaders; Valley Forge becomes but one of the incidents in the record of heroism.

We believe that the military genius of Wayne is better shown in his minor expeditions than in the great battles for in the latter he was directed and hampered by superior officers. But in his Georgia campaign and his Western expedition

against the Indians he proved that he not only had the courage of a soldier, but the leadership and strategic powers of an officer. Especially during his expedition in Ohio did he show his genius for directing an army. With the terrible defeat of Saint Clair to look back at and with the words of warning and distrust of Washington ringing in his ears and the eternal admonitions of Knox, who was Secretary of War, coming with every courier, it is surprising to find Anthony Wayne pursuing the definite and well-planned policy of a fearless and prudent leader. Possibly no other general who had emerged from the Revolutionary War, with the exception of Washington, could have met and conquered the combined Indian forces of the Western Territory.

All these details are given in this life of Wayne and are told in a fascinating way. As we read of the Georgia campaign, we were surprised to find three hundred Greeks coming to attack our hero; but the explanation was evident on the next page when the enemy became Creeks, and we saw that the printer had made a mistake of a single letter.

At the end of the volume we find two pages of bibliography, but in the text there is not a note or reference. This reviewer is rather old-fashioned and prefers at least an occasional reference; for instance, he would like to know the authority for the statement that there were 12,000 land troops of the Americans in the battle of Yorktown (p. 192). But the modern writer has discarded notes and we must make the best of the situation. It is a delightful biography and we are sure that it will find many an enthusiastic reader.

HENRY S. SPALDING, S. J.

American History. By William H. Mace, Chicago, Rand McNally and Co., 1927, xv + 648 + cxxix pp.

A compendium of facts,—historical, political, military, social and economic. The first three hundred pages follow the usual method of treatment. There is probably more matter pertaining to the affairs of the Old World than can be used profitably in schools which offer a course in medieval history during the second year. The chapter on "The Evolution of the American" is very nicely done. The author has the temerity to add to his calendar the names of several real American heroes who are not mentioned in ordinary texts, and he deals more liberally with men and things of the West.

A great part of the book is devoted to a survey of the fields of economics, social democracy, and the citizen's part in government. It would seem, in this respect, tailored especially well to suit the needs of that group which is calling for a closer inter-blending of the social sciences. To the schools which do not offer independent courses in civics or economics the text will be welcome. The chapter on civics, especially well done, contains sufficient matter to give the student a splendid fundamental knowledge of the part a good citizen should play in helping to carry on the affairs of the State and it is presented in such a way that it should rouse the interest of even a dull pupil.

The tendency to discover a phase or an institution and to follow all of its developments until it reaches its present status would seem to weaken the ties which bind it to other historical phases or institutions and destroy that vital principle which the author says he is so solicitous to maintain,—continuity. There is danger of over-repetition, and a consequent lessening of interest on the part of the reader.

The book is aptly illustrated, and contains a happy grouping of portraits of characters who have done so much for the development of the United States. The forty-six pages of Appendix contain many choice morsels of historical matter, though some difficulty may rise as to the manner of bringing these bits to the attention of the student. There is also a fine chronological outline which should prove of interest to teacher and pupil alike.

RICHARD D. DOYLE, A. M.

Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town. By William H. Townsend, Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1929, pp. 377.

The reputation of Lexington, quondam "Athens of the West" will not suffer by the publication of Mr. Townsend's book. It is pictured as the gay town of polite western society in antebellum days, when dashing Henry Clay, Sage of Ashland, was the idol of the youngbloods of the Blue Grass region, when the Breckenridges, Todds, Wickliffes, and Menifees attended the dances in Mathurin Giron's hall or went to Madame Mentelle's admirable French school, when Mr. Clay's "Charles" celebrated the well-honored ritual of julep-making, and mummies and their pickaninnies lived in log cabins at the rear of the patriarchal

mansion, or, less romantically, were exhibited for sale on the auction block in Lexington's public square.

The title of the book is well chosen. Mr. Lincoln's connection with Lexington through his marriage with the popular Mary Todd serves as a point for relating many more or less closely connected facts about that lovable town. But whether closely connected or not, they are all interesting. One lays the book down with a feeling that he has come closer to historical friends, has learned to understand them better, to appreciate them and their emotions in their proper environment. One can better understand Lincoln's broad sympathy with the South and yet his realization that slavery was wrong. He saw enough of the trade to understand it, and yet was able, as it were, to stand aside from the whole institution, view it dispassionately, and weighing it, find that it must be destroyed if the Union were to last.

Mr. Townsend's book is well documented and brings out a few new Lincolniana. This book, with Mr. Lewis's recent *Myths after Lincoln* brings out the personality of Lincoln, makes him a living man of flesh and blood. They are not, of course, as thorough as Mr. Beveridge's great work, but they are more human and will probably be more popular.

CECIL H. CHAMBERLAIN, S. J.

Pageant of America, Volume seven, *In Defense of Liberty*. By William Wood and R. H. Gabriel, New Haven, Mass., Yale University Press, 1928. Volume nine, *Makers of a New Nation*. By John Spencer Bassett, New Haven, Mass., Yale University Press, 1928.

The military history of the United States from the Civil War and including the World War comprises volume seven of this series. The work is a continuation of the military history begun in volume six, *The Winning of Freedom*, by the same authors; it flows logically from the political history recorded by Frederick Austin Ogg in volume eight *Builders of the Republic*, which gives the political events and social conditions that remotely and proximately caused the Civil War. John Spencer Bassett in volume nine continues the political history begun in volume eight opening with the time of Lincoln and concluding with the politics of the World War and its period of reconstruction. Both volumes have the same general characteristics of the

series: a rather popularized context with emphasis upon the illustrations which are in practically all cases reproductions of source material much of which is used here for the first time.

DOROTHY CATHERINE KLEESPIES.

The Raven, A Life Story of Sam Houston. By Marquis James, Indianapolis, The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1929.

The Raven might be styled a story of Jacksonian democracy or an epic of the Western frontier before the Civil War. Many regard Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit* a rather grotesque travesty on American life of the same period. James presents, however, a far more graphic picture of the crudeness, vulgarity, boldness, and heroism of the formative period of our American nationalism.

Sam Houston came from a prominent Virginia family. It seemed impossible for him to follow the normal course of orderly society. In his restlessness he often spent long periods with the Indians whose life and manner appealed to him. It is out of this association that the name Raven developed. Throughout his career he was consistently the friend of the Indian and always resented the injustices to which they were subjected by their mercenary and morally uncivilized white neighbors. The personal bravery, sometimes rising to true heroism and commanding genius, of Houston is shown in his personal relations, in the War of 1812, in gaining and maintaining Texan independence, and finally in resisting the secession movement.

Many famous Americans appear in this narrative in such sharp outlines and vivid episodes that an indelible impression is left with the reader. Jackson, the model of frontier life, Calhoun, Webster, Clay, in fact nearly every prominent character of our national life, especially in its bearing on Southern history, from 1812 to 1863, has his part in this biography.

Houston served a short term as governor of Tennessee, represented his state in Congress, removed to Texas, was the hero of San Jacinto, president of the lone star republic, senator, and governor. He was a believer in omens. He often preferred wild associates and from his intemperate life acquired the designation of "Big Drunk." In his quarrels and encounters, he is a counterpart of Jackson, but he was a much better judge of men and their motives than was his political patron. In 1834 Houston, who had once been denied baptism by Presbyterian minis-

ters, became a Catholic. We soon find him, however, joining in a protest with other Texans against religious tyranny, a figment of their imagination. Later in life he became a Baptist.

Houston was generally identified with the Democratic party, but we find him supporting Fillmore as the Know Nothing candidate and later backing Bell of the Constitutional Union party. He had a saner, more sympathetic regard for Lincoln than had most Southerners. Never friendly to the Confederacy, he refused to take the required oaths and ended his career scheming to detach Texas from the Davis regime and again launch an independent republic.

The author has delved into contemporary documents, obscure correspondence, and in fact has completely mastered the historical evidence requisite for his biographical sketch. He is neither a partisan nor hero worshipper. Houston's merits and defects stand out equally. His work is well balanced and his characterizations are not designed to further his own political theories. In this, his narrative stands in sharp contrast with another recent book, "*Hamilton and Jefferson*" by Claude Bowers.

The Raven is a valuable and interesting contribution to the history of Texas and, in a more general sense, of the South prior to and in the first years of the Civil War.

RAYMOND H. BALDWIN, A. M.

Story of the Old Spanish Missions of the Southwest. By E. C. Sullivan and A. E. Logie, Chicago, Lyons and Carnahan, 1929, 217 pp.

The story of the founding of the more important of the California missions, San Diego, San Carlos, San Antonio de Padua, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara and others, constitutes the greater portion of this work. Two final chapters are devoted to the old Texas missions and to a mission of Arizona. Interesting legends which add to the romantic lustre of the missions are related; sketches of a few prominent historical characters are drawn more from settings and events than from actual description. The theme of the work is the civilizing influence of the Spanish padres sent out from Mexico to convert the Indians. Miss Ella C. Sullivan, a district superintendent and Mr. Alfred E. Logie, a principal, both in the Chicago public school system, have collaborated in the production of this popularized book.

Though at times the diction is rather advanced, the thought content as well as incidental features immediately place it as juvenile; references are not cited, illustrations are not authenticated or acknowledged. But for the elementary class studying this phase of American history, collateral background reading will be found in *The Story of the Old Spanish Missions of the Southwest*.

DOROTHY CATHERINE KLEESPIES.

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CONTENTS

BANDELIER: ARCHAEOLOGIST OF OUR SOUTHWEST	<i>William Stetson Merrill</i>	291
AN EPISODE IN QUEBEC-LOUISIANA HISTORY	<i>Patrick W. Browne</i>	296
PROPAGANDA AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUIT RELATIONS	<i>William R. Corrigan</i>	306
CATHOLIC BEGINNINGS IN SOUTHEASTERN IOWA	<i>Charles F. Griffith</i>	311
DOCUMENTS—ESPINOSA'S DIARY		339
NEWS AND COMMENTS		362
BOOK REVIEWS		367
<i>Schlarman, From Quebec to New Orleans; Roemer, The Ethical Basis of International Law; Conroy, Arnold Damen, S. J.: A Chapter in the Making of Chicago; Lawrence, The Other Side of Government; Father Finn, the Story of His Life Told by Himself; Hay, The Blair Papers; Leger, The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine (1611-1820); Lanctot, L'Administration de la Nouvelle France, L'Administration Generale; Historical Records and Studies.</i>		

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An Historical Review

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BANDELIER: ARCHÆOLOGIST OF OUR SOUTHWEST

A few days ago, when the latest issue of the *New Mexico Historical Magazine* was laid on my desk, my eye caught the title of the first article in it: "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos, New Mexico, part I—1536 to 1542." Facing the title is a portrait of the author, Adolph F. A. Bandelier, who died in 1914. My mind at once reverted to two volumes by the same author that I had read many years ago, when as a youth just out of Harvard I had received the gratifying commission from Charles Eliot Norton, then president of the Archæological Institute of America, to prepare an index to its publications for the previous ten years. Those two volumes were the initial issues of the American series of Papers of the Institute. The first covered Bandelier's "Historical Introduction to Studies among the Sedentary Indians of New Mexico" and a "Report of the Pueblo of Pecos"; the second was his "Report of an Archæological Tour in Mexico in 1881." These were among the earlier works of a man who by them and by later publications established a reputation as the leading American archæologist of the Southwest. His name appears in Georgiana Pell Curtis's *American Catholic Who's Who* (published in 1911) and a sketch of his career is given in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*. Catholics may well be proud that this eminent scholar was of their faith.*

Adolph Francis Alphonse Bandelier was born in Bern, Switzerland, August 6, 1840. He attended school in early childhood but, while still a boy, was brought by his father to America where the elder Bandelier settled in Highland, Illinois, and became a banker. The lad had no schooling after his eighth year; but by private study and aided by remarkable aptitude, he acquired not only an excellent literary style in English, but

* A first-hand sketch of Bandelier's life and writings appeared just after his death, written by F. W. Hodge, in the *American Anthropologist* for April, June, 1914 (pp. 349-355). Hodge includes a bibliography of Bandelier's writings covering fifty-six titles. Hodge says that Bandelier preferred the French pronunciation of his name.

learned several European languages and, in later life, some of the native dialects of American aborigines. He always acknowledged his early indebtedness to Lewis H. Morgan, known from his epoch-making writings as the "Father of American Anthropology."

In 1877 Bandelier traveled extensively in Mexico and Central America, studying the archæology, ethnology and history of the aboriginal inhabitants, and embodied the results of his researches in a series of papers published by the Peabody Museum of Harvard University. These papers attracted the attention of members of the then newly organized Archæological Institute of America and in 1880 Bandelier was commissioned by the Institute to conduct research of the aboriginal ruins of New Mexico. He visited the ruined Pecos, a pueblo located about twenty-five miles east of Santa Fe; thence he extended his researches to the Queres pueblo of Cochiti, where, says Hodge in the sketch already mentioned, "he remained two months on terms of entire familiarity and inspired such confidence that he was adopted as a member of the tribe" (*op. cit.*, p. 350). His relations with the Indians are described by himself in a passage where he writes: "My relations with Indians of this pueblo are very friendly. Sharing their food, their hardships and their pleasures, simple as they are, a mutual attachment has formed itself, which grows into sincere affection. They begin to treat me as one of their own, and to exhibit toward me that spirit of fraternity which prevails among them in their communism. Of course they have their squabbles among themselves, which often reveal to me some new features of their organization; but on the whole they are the best people the sun shines upon."

A new form of presenting the results of his researches now suggested itself to Bandelier. He wrote a novel entitled *The Delight Makers*, of which Hodge says: "a novel of early Pueblo life which, shrouded under a title that affords little clue to the instructiveness and charm of its contents, has never met the appreciation it deserves" (p. 351).

Sent by the Archæological Institute to join the Lorillard Expedition to Mexico and Central America, Bandelier proceeded next to Mexico; but finding the work of the Expedition suspended, he spent four months at Cholula, "studying its famous pyramid, the customs and beliefs of the native inhabitants, and especially those respecting the deity Quetzalcoatl, for whose

worship Cholula was particularly celebrated" (p. 351). The results of his visits to Mitla, Tlacolula, and Monte Alban appeared in his "Archæological Tour in Mexico," to which allusion has been made at the beginning of this paper. Making Santa Fe his headquarters during the years from 1883 to 1886 "he penetrated almost every corner of New Mexico, Arizona, Sonora, and Chihuahua," writes Hodge, "and explored the country even farther south in Mexico, visiting and describing hundreds of ruins and surveying and platting many of them. His travels throughout this vast area were almost exclusively afoot and frequently were fraught with danger. More than once he was beset by hostile Indians, including a band of Apache while on a raid, and on one of these occasions his life was spared only because he simulated insanity. During one of his journeys he was afflicted with smallpox and again in 1882 had a narrow escape from death in a midwinter blizzard in the desert of eastern Mexico, where his two companions perished; but his own hardihood enabled him to brace the storm and to reach safety after journeying ninety-three miles on horseback and thirty-five miles afoot through deep snow . . . He travelled armed only with a stick a meter long and graduated for measuring ruins; and relied upon the meagre hospitality of a pitifully unsettled and arid country for the means to keep body and soul together" (pp. 351-2). His magnum opus, embodying the results of these exhaustive investigations, was his "Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the Southwestern United States . . . 1880 to 1885," published by the Archæological Institute in 1890-91.

When the Hemenway Southwestern Archæological Expedition was organized in 1886 Bandelier was selected as its historiographer and spent the next three years in studying the Spanish archives in Santa Fe, in Mexico, and elsewhere. The fifth volume of the American series of Papers of the Institute was his contribution giving the fruits of these studies.

The celebration of the Golden Jubilee of Pope Leo XIII in the year of 1887 brought him a commission which is of special interest to Catholics. He was asked by Archbishop Salpointe to tell the story of the Catholic missions in the Southwest. A manuscript was accordingly prepared by Bandelier covering 1400 pages and illustrated with 400 water color sketches, entitled *Histoire de la Colonisation et des Missions du Sonora*,

Chihuahua, Nouveau Mexique et Arizona jusqu' à 1700. This manuscript was presented to the Pope by Archbishop Salpointe and now reposes in the Vatican. In 1893 appeared another work from Bandelier's pen, *The Gilded Man (El Dorado) and other Pictures of the Spanish Occupancy of America.*

The field of his travels now became Peru, Ecuador and Bolivia. In Peru his wife died, and in December, 1893, he married Fanny Ritter, a woman admirably fitted by her linguistic and literary attainments to become his helpmate. During the remainder of his life she was inseparably united with him in his travels, in his writings, and during a period of two year's blindness from cataract, was both eyes and hands to a husband to whom she was devoted.

The work entitled "Documentary History of the Rio Grande Pueblos," the text of which is now appearing for the first time in the *New Mexico Historical Magazine*, occupied Bandelier during the years 1909-11, the very years of his temporary blindness. It was the fruit of two years' exploration and study of the pueblos of New Mexico, while Bandelier was traveling on a fellowship provided for that purpose by Mrs. John Hays Hammond. A bibliographic introduction to this work was printed by the Institute as number 13 of the Papers of the School of American Archaeology in 1910. The text, however, has been in the custody of the School until last September, when it was transmitted to the editor of the magazine with the recommendation that it be printed. In a note accompanying it the Director, E. L. Hewett, writes: "Bandelier evidently intended to carry his history of the Rio Grande Pueblos through the seventeenth century but the manuscript which he sent covers only the period from 1536 to 1584. Incomplete as it is, the manuscript runs to some 150 pages and the value and interest of the text seem to warrant its publication." The first installment covers the original accounts of the reconnoitering expedition sent by Coronado in 1540 eastward from the Spanish post near the present Santa Fe, under the command of Alvarado.

Bandelier holds that the adventurous journey of Fray Marcos of Nizza in search of the "Seven Cities" in 1538 brought the first notice to the white man of the Rio Grande Pueblo Indians, and that a delegation of these Indians from Cicuye (Pecos) were the first natives of that region seen by the Spaniards. At this time, moreover, the Spaniards gazed with wonder at a herd

of bison. The Indians, in telling of these animals had referred to them as "cows" and one Indian had the figure of a bison painted on his body, so we are told by Castañeda in his *Relación de Cibola*.

Bandelier was an accurate observer, severely scientific and critical alike in his method, his inferences, and his final judgments. He did not hesitate to correct the opinions of previous historians, some of them of the highest reputation; but he supports his opinions by a wealth of evidence that gives great weight to his statements. "No small part of his ambition was," writes Hodge, "to upset the popular theories respecting the history, archæology and ethnology of the great Southwest. To this end he destroyed the fanciful notions regarding the "Aztec" origin of various Pueblo ruins, the "perpetual fire" of Pecos, the "Montezuma myth" among the Pueblos, the age of the city of Santa Fe, the mystery of Quivira and of the "Gran Quivira," the location of the Seven Cities of Cibola, the routes of various Spanish explorers, and many other fallacious traditions, and was the first to offer scientific evidence . . . to settle once for all the varied problems concerning the condition and range of the Pueblo and other tribes before and after the beginning of the Spanish period" (*op. cit.*, p. 352).

Bandelier died in Seville, Spain, on March 19, 1914, whither he had gone to continue his examination of the Spanish archives of Madrid, Seville, and Simancas. For the three years preceding his death he had been research associate in the Carnegie Institution of Washington for the purpose of enabling him to complete his studies of the Spanish documentary history of the Pueblo Indians. Since his death the Carnegie Institution has issued *Historical Documents relating to New Mexico, Nueva Vizcaya and approaches thereto, to 1773, collected by Adolph F. A. Bandelier and Fanny R. Bandelier. Spanish Texts and English Translations, Vol. 1* (Washington, 1923).

An appropriate memorial of the great archæologist is a Government reservation named for him, established in 1916. The Bandelier National Monument is a tract in northcentral New Mexico covering thirty-four square miles and including within its confines many prehistoric artificial caves, immense cliff dwellings, stone sculptures, and other evidences of the vanished civilization of our Southwest.

AN EPISODE IN QUEBEC-LOUISIANA HISTORY

The episode which I purpose to discuss is the episcopal career of Louis François du Plessis de Mornay, third bishop of Quebec. Brief space is given to this episcopate in the history of the bishops of the Ancient Province. The author of *Les Evêques de Québec* explains this by stating that as Bishop de Mornay had never resided within his diocese and was so little interested in his flock, Canadian historians have paid practically no attention to his career in France where he always resided.¹ Besides Têtu, author of *Les Evêques de Québec*, the only Canadian historian who seems to have been interested in the career of Bishop de Mornay was the Abbé Bois, who had amassed a great deal of material now in the possession of the Seminary of Nicolet, P. Q. Evidently the author of *Les Evêques de Québec* did not agree in his appraisal of Bishop de Mornay with the findings of the Abbé Bois, and he says: "*M. Bois était certainement un érudit . . . mais il abuse évidemment de l'amplification et le ton panégyrique domine du commencement à la fin. Je ne puis partager son admiration pour le prélat qui fait le sujet de cette étude, et si, comme je n'en doute pas, il était un bon et vertueux religieux, il manquait des qualités qui font les grands évêques.*"² In addition to the material gathered by the Abbé Bois, Têtu says that he found some additional details in *Gallia Christiana*, in Moreri's *Dictionnaire*, and at the Bibliothèque Nationale, in a manuscript *Journal tenu aux Capucins du Marais*.

Louis François du Plessis de Mornay was born at Vannes, Brittany, in 1663, son of Charles du Plessis de Mornay and Marie Anne (Quesnel) de Mornay. Both parents came from distinguished families who at various times had rendered signal service to France. He entered the Capuchin convent at Amiens as a novice on August 18, 1682. After profession he occupied many important offices in the Order: lector in theology at Beauvais in 1697; guardian at the Marais (Paris) in 1700, at Poinoise in 1701-1702, at Meudon in 1710-1713. He seems to have been always held in high esteem by the Court and on the death of the Dauphin, was chosen to preach the funeral oration. On June 22, 1713, he was nominated by Louis XIV to the coadjutor-

¹ *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Quebec, 1899, 4:265.

² Têtu, *Histoire de Palais Episcopal*, Quebec, 1896, p. 35.

ship of Quebec, as auxiliary to Bishop Saint-Vallier. At the time of nomination he was granted an annuity of 1000 crowns, pending the bestowal of a benefice. In January, 1714 the Holy See preconized him bishop of Eumenia *in partibus infidelium* and he was consecrated on April 15 of the same year by Cardinal de Rohan at the Capuchin church of St. Honoré in Paris. After consecration Bishop de Mornay obtained a benefice derived from the abbey of St. Wast. On June 14 he was commissioned by the Court to exercise certain episcopal functions at Tournai, but the order was countermanded. He then spent some time with relatives, and later returned to the Capuchin convent at St. Honoré, where he remained until Holy Week, 1716, when he was sent to Cambrai to perform the ceremonies of Holy Thursday. Cambrai was vacant at the time (and for several years afterward) owing to the demise of Archbishop de Fénelon. Abbé Bois states that after the signing of the Peace of Utrecht Du Plessis de Mornay (then at Arbois, one of the commanderies of the Knights of Malta, in the Department of Jura) sought from the King a position that would be more agreeable. At the time Louis XIV was desirous to reestablish embassies at certain foreign courts, and (mindful of the services rendered to the Crown by members of the de Mornay family) he offered the chaplain at Arbois the ambassadorship to Lisbon. The Capuchin friar seems to have been very popular at the Portuguese capital. Diplomatic functions, however, did not appeal to him and he asked to be recalled.

The nomination of Du Plessis de Mornay to the coadjutorship of Quebec was apparently brought about by Pontchartrain, the minister in charge of colonial affairs, as a means of forcing Bishop Saint-Vallier to resign the See of Quebec; and it was understood that the coadjutor should have special care of Louisiana where there were serious troubles at the time.

Though the Court at Versailles frequently insisted that Bishop de Mornay should proceed to Quebec, he was unwilling to leave France; and this, presumably, was the reason for his going to Cambrai in 1716, *not as administrator of the diocese*, but to perform certain episcopal functions. He must have gone there several times, however, as there is a record of his presence in Cambrai as late as May 4, 1722. It must have been during this period that he manifested interest in the affairs of Louisiana. The Company of the West applied to Bishop de

Mornay for missionaries for Louisiana and the latter offered the field to the French Capuchins of Champagne. "On April 13, 1722, we find the Capuchin Provincial of Champagne appealing to Propaganda for a Prefecture in Louisiana. The request is made through the Procurator General of the Order and represents that the French King himself has requested Capuchins for Louisiana."³ The request of the Capuchin Provincial was refused. "On May 16, 1722, the Commissioners of the Council [Company of the West] with the consent of the Bishop of Quebec divided the Province of Louisiana into three ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The first comprised all the district to the west of the Mississippi from the Gulf of Mexico to the point of entry of the Ohio River. The churches and missions of this district were to be in charge of the Capuchins, whose superior was to reside in New Orleans and be Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. The second district was that extending over all the country above the Ohio River. It was given to the Jesuits and their superior officer residing in Illinois was to be Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec, in this district. The third district included all that territory to the east of the Mississippi, and it was assigned to the Carmelites, whose superior was to reside at Mobile and be *Vicar-General* of the Bishop in that territory."⁴

The French Government objected to the Carmelite mission, as they had obtained a Bull from Rome in 1720 which the French Court did not recognize. "Bishop de Mornay . . . seems to have been in full accord with the government and to have even taken steps for the removal of the Carmelites. . . . Here we cannot fail to notice the Gallican views of Bishop de Mornay. In this period especially Gallicanism was rampant in France, where all papal appointments had to be ratified by the government to give them legal value. The Carmelites, in going directly to Rome for their Brief, either ignored the undue claims of Gallicanism, or perhaps they deemed it sufficient that the French Company of the Indies, a government agency, had called them. Bishop de Mornay, however, pressed his Gallican claims to the limit and had the Carmelites finally recalled."⁵ On May 16, 1722, the Company of the West placed the Capuchins in charge of Louisiana, and granted them most extensive powers.

³ Vogel, *The Capuchins in French Louisiana (1722-1766)*, Brookland, D. C., 1928, p. 23.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 24,25.

Bishop de Mornay seems to have had a free hand in all that pertained to the affairs of the colony, Bishop Saint-Vallier "demanding merely to be informed of his proceedings." At least so states the author of the work just quoted.

In March, 1728, unaware that Bishop Saint-Vallier was dead, Bishop de Mornay tendered his resignation, and the King of France named as his successor, the Abbé Machuco de Presneaux. This nomination was irregular as was the resignation of Bishop de Mornay, who had become Bishop of Quebec by the death of the incumbent of the see, as he had been appointed coadjutor *cum futura successione*. Presumably he did not wish to complicate the situation by offering his resignation to the Crown; and as he was unwilling to proceed to Quebec, he issued Letters Patent to the Abbé Chartier de Lotbinière, vicar-capitular of the cathedral of Quebec, to take official possession of the see, as proxy. This cleric was at the time unfortunately at variance with the other members of the chapter, and the latter refused to recognize the mandate. It became necessary to invoke an order of the Sovereign Council of Quebec to make it effective. Têtu reproduces a document in this connection, "*Extrait des Registres du Conseil d'Etat*," which is interesting, though by no means edifying.⁶

Later, Bishop de Mornay again tendered his resignation of the see of Quebec, but the Court would not accept it. The difficulty was solved by giving him a coadjutor in the person of the Right Reverend Pierre Herman Dosquet, a native of Liège, and titular Bishop of Samos, who was appointed Vicar-General with all powers needed for the administration of the diocese (May 25, 1729). Bishop Dosquet proceeded to Canada immediately, and remained there until 1732. He then returned to France, and pleaded with Louis XV that Bishop de Mornay be compelled to proceed to Quebec and personally administer the affairs of his diocese. Bishop de Mornay refused to go. Thereupon the Minister for the colonies addressed him as follows:

"Le roi a bien voulu pourvoir à l'abandon dans lequel vous laissez votre évêché, par la nomination de monseigneur Dosquet à la coadjutorie de Quebec; mais vous savez que la santé de ce prélat et l'état de ses affaires l'ont obligé de repasser en France où il paraît qu'il sera retenu longtemps. Sa Majesté est persuadée que, privé de ce secours, vous n'hésitez pas à vous rendre dans votre diocèse; informée des besoins pressants où il est, elle m'a ordonné de vous dire que son intention est que vous vous rendiez sans plus retard; et comme l'état

⁶ Têtu, *Les Evêques de Québec*, Quebec, 1889, pp. 160 ff.

où se trouve actuellement le clergé de la Louisiane requiert encore plus votre présence que celui de Canada, elle souhaite que vous commenciez votre visite par cette province, où il n'a pas encore paru d'évêque, et où vous pourrez faire cesser le trouble qui y régné."⁷

Bishop de Mornay did not obey the royal command; he resigned the See of Quebec, pleading that he was now advanced in years and that his health was seriously impaired. He died in Paris on November 28, 1741. It is claimed that dread of the ocean voyage deterred him from coming to America. During his entire episcopate he seems to have taken no interest in his flock or in his clergy. Says Gosselin:⁸ "Qui a jamais entendu parler de Mgr. de Mornay dans les paroisses canadiennes? Il n'a jamais fait acte d'évêque au Canada; il n'y a jamais eu de mandements ni de lettres pastorales en son nom: ce nom même est-il connu d'un grand nombre de Canadiens?" The episode of Bishop de Mornay is but one of many instances of the intrusion into the ecclesiastical domain by His Most Christian Majesty, the King of France, and it reveals conditions which the Holy See seemed unable to remedy. It indicates the usurpation of papal prerogatives by the State and emphasizes the fact that in France (and elsewhere in Europe) the jurisdiction and discipline of the Church were practically in the hands of Royalty. Monseigneur de Fénelon in one of his "Letters" seems to give the correct explanation. He says: "In practice the King is more our head than is the Pope. 'Liberties' are invoked against the Pope; servitude is exacted on behalf of the King. His authority over the Church devolves upon lay judges; and the laity dominate the bishops."

This was apparently true in the case of Bishop de Mornay, for the Bishop of Quebec did not even suggest his nomination. Whilst Bishop Saint-Vallier was a prisoner in England, from 1704 to 1709, he did ask for a coadjutor because his enforced and lengthy absence made it impossible for him to administer his diocese. In January, 1705, he made a direct appeal to Louis XIV to this end, and at the same time sought the good offices of M. Leschassier, Superior of St. Sulpice, and Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris, to further his request; but his request was fruitless. After his incarceration in England, Bishop Saint-Vallier was detained in Paris until 1713. He was allowed to return to Canada on the condition that he should first obtain a coad-

⁷ Têtu, *op. cit.* p. 168.

⁸ Gosselin, *L'Eglise du Canada*, 2ième partie, Quebec, 1912, p. 31.

jutor and then return to France and *tender his resignation*. The courageous prelate refused to accept those conditions; and in a letter to Louis XIV says: "J'accepte avec reconnaissance de partir incessamment, comme aussi de demander un coadjuteur Je conjure Sa Majesté de faire reflexion que je ne puis rien promettre de plus, attendu le précepte divin qui oblige tous les évêques à travailler par leur exemple, par leurs paroles, par l'administration des sacrements, par leurs visites, par leurs synodes, au salut de leurs diocésains, ce qu'ils ne peuvent faire sans résider dans leurs diocèses qu' l'a reconnu le Saint Concile de Trente." Pontchartrain, Minister of colonial affairs, refused to allow Bishop Saint-Vallier to leave France until the latter had agreed to accept the coadjutor. This was really a weapon to force Bishop Saint-Vallier's resignation. Louis François Plessis de Mornay was named coadjutor and he was commissioned to proceed to Louisiana as Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec.⁹

Louisiana had at this time its own Council, and its own church organization with an ecclesiastical agent in Paris.¹⁰ In 1712 a company was organized, under state supervision, by the financier, Antoine Crozat which had the exclusive privilege of trade and mining in Louisiana for fifteen years. In return for the concessions granted to it, the company was obliged to defray the expenses of government and support the missions; but it neglected to carry out the latter stipulation. Owing to financial difficulties Crozat surrendered his charter in 1717, and the region passed into the hands of the Company of the West, later known as the Company of the Indies, which was headed by the financial gambler, John Law. In the charter granted to the Company there was a stipulation to the following effect:

"Comme dans l'établissement des pays concédés à la dite compagnie par ces présents, nous regardons particulièrement la gloire de Dieu, en procurant le salut des habitants, indiens, sauvages et nègres, que nous désirons être instruits dans la vraie religion, la dite compagnie sera obligée de bâtir des églises dans les lieux de ses habitants, comme aussi d'y entretenir le nombre d'ecclésiastiques approuvés, qui sera nécessaire, soit en qualité de curés ou tels autres qui sera convenable, pour y prêcher le saint évangile, faire le service divin, et y administrer les sacrements, le tout sous l'autorité de l'évêque Québec; la dite colonie demeurant dans son diocèse, ainsi que par le passé, et seront les curés et autres ecclésiastiques, que la dite compagnie entendra à sa nomination et patronage."¹¹

It is surmised that Bishop de Mornay inspired this article of

⁹ Gosselin, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 ff.

¹⁰ The Abbé Raguett, a Sulpician.

¹¹ *Edits et Ordonnances*, 1:380 (August, 1717).

the charter of the Company of the West, and it suggests a clause in the charter of the Company of the Hundred Associates (organized in 1627 by Richelieu or rather by his friend and counsellor, the famous Père Joseph Leclerc du Tremblay). It seems quite reasonable that the Company which was granted a monopoly of the trade in the colony should be obliged to support the missions.¹²

The ecclesiastical history of Louisiana begins when Bishop Saint-Vallier (May 1, 1698) authorized the Seminary of Quebec to establish missions along the Mississippi. This authorization was conferred by Letters Patent on July 14 and endorsed by Frontenac, Governor of New France, July 17, 1698. In 1715 the Seminary of Foreign Missions in Paris (of which the Seminary of Quebec was an offshoot) sent out as Superior of the Mississippi Valley the Rev. Dominique Varlet. He was appointed Vicar-General by Bishop Saint-Vallier, with jurisdiction over all priests, secular and regular, except the Jesuits who were subject to their own superiors.¹³ Here it may be noted that about that time several secular priests received authorization ("*brevets d'aumônier et de missionnaire*") from the Company of the West to labor in Louisiana, among them an Irish priest named O'Donoghue. But these missionaries were not sufficient to meet the needs of the colony as serious disorders existed at several of the French posts. Bishop de Mornay came to an understanding with the directors of the Company of the West and in particular with Abbé Raguét, their "spiritual director" to meet the exigency, and it was agreed that the Capuchins should undertake the cultivation of this portion of the Lord's vineyard.¹⁴

The Capuchins came to Louisiana in 1722. The superior of the group was Father Bruno of Langres. In the spring of 1723 Father Raphael of Luxemburg arrived as the new Superior and Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec. In December of the same year a change was made in the division of the mission. The Capuchins were not consulted, and two years were allowed to pass before Bishop Saint-Vallier became aware of the change. Neither Bishop de Mornay nor the Company of the West informed him that the jurisdiction of the Capuchins had been re-

¹² Cf. Gosselin, *L'Eglise du Canada*, 2ième partie, Quebec, 1912, p. 19.

¹³ Cf. Taschereau, *Missions du Séminaire de Québec*, Ms. in Laval Archives; Archives de l'Evêché de Québec, Régistre C, p. 224.

¹⁴ Gosselin, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

stricted and that the Jesuits had received a larger mission field. The reasons for this change are set forth by the Abbé Raguét in his *Memorial of the Church in Louisiana*. He says: "The Company, judging that the Capuchins would not be able to furnish enough clergymen to supply all the cures and missions in a region so vast as that which had been given to them, fixed the boundary of their jurisdiction at Natchez." The Capuchins resented the new arrangement, and appealed immediately to Bishop Saint-Vallier. On June 27, 1725, the Company issued another order which guaranteed them their original mission and likewise guaranteed that without their consent no other priests or other religious should be sent or established there. To this order came a royal approval.¹⁵ Misunderstandings arose subsequently, and were no doubt accentuated when Father de Beaubois, Superior of the Jesuits, was permitted to reside in New Orleans in 1726 after being obliged to give assurance that he should not exercise any ecclesiastical functions there without the consent of the Superior of the Capuchins. Later he became Vicar-General of Bishop Saint-Vallier and thus there were two Vicars-General in a little town which had only a few hundred inhabitants.

Under Father de Beaubois' direction Ursulines (from Rouen) came to New Orleans in 1727. Their advent seems to have augmented the friction between the Capuchins and the Jesuits. The Ursulines experienced many difficulties, one of them being the desire of the civil authorities to place them under the direction of the Capuchins. By their Constitution they were at liberty to choose their own director, and they wished to have a Jesuit.¹⁶ In this connection Bishop de Mornay, writing to the Abbé Raguét says: "I am convinced that the Sisters will do good there, but I believe they should be under the jurisdiction of the Ordinary." The reply of Abbé Raguét to the letter (from which this excerpt is taken) is very lengthy and I reproduce only a few items: "The Company saw above all to it that nothing was granted them [the Jesuits] which might infringe in the least upon the jurisdiction of Reverend Father Raphael [Superior of the Capuchins]. Father de Beaubois was expressly restrained from exercising any function without his permission. He alone

¹⁵ Cf. Vogel, *op. cit.*, *passim*.

¹⁶ *Rapport sur les archives canadiennes*, 1904, p. 93 (Lettre du Ministre Pelletier, Nov. 1728).

was permitted to reside in New Orleans. . . . Father de Beau-bois who did us the favor of obtaining them [the Ursulines] may well advise them as a friend, but the ecclesiastical ministry may be exercised only in so far as Father Raphael allows him."¹⁷

Owing to the friction existing between Father Raphael and Father de Beaubois, and other causes, the latter was obliged to leave New Orleans, the Governor siding with Father de Beaubois while the Company of the West espoused the cause of Father Raphael. After the Company of the West had retroceded the colony to the Crown Father de Beaubois returned to New Orleans as Superior of the Jesuit Missions, but later, 1735, was again forced to leave the colony, and the Jesuits were banned until shortly before the death of Father Raphael.¹⁸ Bishop de Mornay continued to govern the Diocese of Quebec from Paris for five years, receiving the entire episcopal revenue. His action operated disastrously for the Church in Canada.¹⁹ Later incumbents of the see of Quebec repudiated Bishop de Mornay's attitude toward the Church in Louisiana: "They could not admit that the assent of Bishop de Mornay, a coadjutor . . . to an agreement between a trading company and a Religious Order, deprived every Bishop of Quebec of the right to act as freely in Louisiana as in other parts of his diocese."²⁰

In 1741, the office of Vicar-General was taken from the Capuchins by Bishop de Pontbriand and given to the Jesuits; and notice to that effect was sent to the Capuchin Provincial at Champagne, who gave the assurance that he would recognize the jurisdiction of the Jesuit Vicar-General, and pledged the obedience of his brethren in Louisiana to the Jesuit representative of the Bishop of Quebec, Father Vitry, S. J. Unfortunately there was opposition to the Bishop's nominee on the part of some Capuchin friars in New Orleans, who questioned the authority of Father Vitry. This, however, did not deter the Bishop of Quebec from exercising the right to appoint whom he would. When Father Vitry died in 1750, Bishop de Pontbriand named as his successor another Jesuit, Father Michael Baudoin; but the Capuchin opposition continued for some time, and the friars regarded the appointment made by Bishop de Pontbriand

¹⁷ Vogel, *op. cit.*, pp. 97-98.

¹⁸ Cf. de Rochemonteix, S. J., *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIIe Siècle*, Paris, 1906, 1:218.

¹⁹ Cr. Gosselin, *L'Eglise du Canada*, Quebec, 1912, 3:28.

²⁰ Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, New York, 1886, p. 582.

as a violation of two solemn treaties. In explanation of this opposition Fr. Vogel says: "True, according to Canon Law a bishop in his own diocese may name Vicar-General whomsoever he pleases, but we must bear in mind that in this period Gallicanism exercised ecclesiastical rights in France. The royal *Placet* was required to legalize the acts of the Pope and the Bishop, and since the Bishop of Quebec had not obtained the *Placet* for depriving the Capuchins of the Vicar-Generalship, his act was null and void from the Gallican standpoint. The Church by no means favored this cringing to the secular powers, but she was forced to tolerate it as a lesser evil, and the Capuchins shielded themselves with her toleration."²¹ This apart, the writer of this article hazards the assertion that many of the difficulties which beset the nascent church in Louisiana were largely due to the appointment of a bishop with pronounced Gallican tendencies, who governed *in absentia*. The episcopal career of Bishop de Mornay was, as Têtu says:

“Un intéressant épisode qui fait connaître le gouvernement ecclésiastique de cette époque, et l'abandon dans lequel la cour de France laissait quelquefois les diocèses—comme ceux de Cambrai et de Québec—sans que le Saint-Siège pût remédier à ce déplorable état de choses.”²²

Washington

PATRICK W. BROWNE

²¹ Vogel, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

²² *Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, Québec, 1898, 4:263.

PROPAGANDA AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUIT RELATIONS*

The work of the Roman Congregation de Propaganda Fide in seventeenth century America was most providential.¹ In the light of later events it proved to be the strong foundation on which was reared the mighty edifice we all admire. And yet the student of the mission history of colonial North America may feel justified in ignoring the Congregation or at least in considering its activities as of minor importance. Events connected with the spread of the Gospel would have run much the same course, the spiritual care of the colonists and the conversion of the natives would have gone on in the same way if the Propaganda had never existed. The absolute and unlimited jurisdiction of the Congregation was recognized; but the Orders, which sent the missionaries to America and actually accomplished something in the missions, did not need and did not receive any help or direction from Rome. On the other hand, in practically every instance where the Propaganda attempted to exert a positive influence, independently of the same Orders, the attempt came to nothing.

But there is one event of supreme interest to the historian which proves the power of the Congregation and shows how that power might be exercised. I mean the suppression of the Jesuit Relations. What the Relations were, their importance for the student of Canadian history, and, above all, their value to the missions and to the colony as a means of propaganda in France is too well known to require a lengthy explanation. "As well try to write the history of the Heptarchy without Bede as to write the history of the St. Lawrence Valley without the Re-

* This article is a translation of a chapter in a Dissertation submitted by Rev. William R. Corrigan, S. J., to the University of Munich in 1927 as part requirement for the Doctorate. The Dissertation, published under the title: *Die Kongregation de Propaganda Fide und ihre Tätigkeit in Nord-Amerika*, Verlag E. Jörgen, München, 1929, is reviewed in MID-AMERICA, January, 1930.

¹ It was clearly providential that the infant Church of America, in spite of the dependence of the Colonies on France and England, should have come at an early date under the direct tutelage of Rome. It was largely due to the dogged determination of the Propaganda that the deadening grip of French Gallicanism was broken in Canada, and that the orphan Church in the present United States was ready to seize the opportunity which came with American independence and the immigration of Catholics. The Propaganda worked in the dark during the greater part of the Colonial period; but the astounding growth of the Church in the nineteenth century shows that the work was well done.

lations.”² But what concerns us here is their sudden disappearance in 1673 after forty-one years of unbroken publication. This disappearance had long remained a mystery and had given rise to various hypotheses, the source of which was mostly the prejudiced imagination of the writer. The king, the governors (de Courcelles and Frontenac) and the authorities in Rome are all named as the probable agent responsible for the cessation of publication; and the most absurd reason given is that they were “*pleines de faussetés.*”³ It was only in 1895 that Rochemonteix,⁴ writing with a perfect mastery of all the literature on the subject and of the intimate unpublished sources, gave the real explanation, which has found acceptance with all more recent writers,⁵ and which throws a side-light on the activities of the Roman Propaganda.

April 6, 1673, the Congregation obtained from Pope Clement X the Brief *Credita nobis*, which forbade under pain of excommunication the publication of anything whatsoever pertaining to the missions, *sine licentia in scriptis Congregationis . . . quam in operis initio imprimere teneantur.*⁶ This Brief put an abrupt end to the Relations, not because it condemned them or in any way censured them, but because it placed a condition, which in the hey-day of Louis XIV's Gallicanism could not be fulfilled.⁷ It was just a short decade before the passing of the famous “four Articles,” a time when both king and Parliament resented the least interference on the part of Rome in what they considered affairs of State. The Propaganda, backed by the Pope, demanded that the Imprimatur of the Congregation should appear at the beginning of every publication on the missions;

² Cf. *American Historical Review*, 1901, pp. 37-60, “The Jesuit Relations” by C. W. Colby. Also Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, 1896-1901, 73 Vols., Vol I. Introduction.

³ *Lettres de M. Antoine Arnaud*, Paris, 1775, Vol II, p. 619.

⁴ *Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1895-96, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. vii-ix, iv. Rochemonteix writes to defend his heroes; but there is at times an air of defiance about his work. The ability of the author and the mass of source material at his disposal made it possible to produce a history which should be even more widely known. An English translation would be highly welcome.

⁵ *American Hist. Review*, 1901, p. 55. Cf. also Brucker in *Études Religieuses*, Vol. LIII, p. 513.

⁶ Cf. *Collectanea de Propaganda Fide* (Romae, 1907) under date April 6, 1673

⁷ The real reason for this wholesale censorship of mission publications was the controversy over the Chinese Rites. Cf. Rochemonteix, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. xxxii. A chief cause of estrangement between the Propaganda and the Jesuits was the setting up of French Vicars Apostolic in territories occupied by Portuguese Jesuits in the Orient.

but France recognized no such jurisdiction and studiously avoided any acknowledgment of the authority of the Roman Congregations. To continue the Relations without the Imprimatur would have been disobedience to Rome; to publish them with the Imprimatur was all but impossible and worse than useless. The only course left was quietly to submit to Rome and leave the manuscripts forwarded from America lie unprinted until a more propitious time. The situation was rendered more difficult a few years later, when in 1680 Louis XIV formally ordered the resumption of the Relations. How Père de la Chaise, the king's confessor, extricated his brother Jesuits from their critical position by obtaining the recall of the royal order does not concern us here except so far as it shows that it was less difficult to bend the will of the Grand Monarch than it was to induce the all-powerful Propaganda to make an exception.⁸

The orders of the Congregation, even though in the case under discussion they might appear a bit unreasonable, had to be obeyed even in a Province of Gallican France, which came only indirectly under the Brief "*Creditee*." It will be well to trace briefly the origin of this Brief or the preliminary moves which led to it, merely to show how the relations of the Congregation with the Regulars in another section of its world-wide domain could influence the missions of America, where there was no cause for the action taken.

The first act of the Propaganda in the series of decrees which led to the suppression of the Relations was an injunction laid on all Missionaries Apostolic.⁹ It brought all their intended publications under the strict censorship of the Congregation. It is to be noted, however, that the decree touched only the Missionaries Apostolic. Consequently, though the prohibition was most sweeping and the penalties extreme, the effects of the decree were not felt in America, where, even supposing its promul-

⁸ Cf. Rochemonteix, *loc. cit.*, p. li.

⁹ Cf. Propaganda Archive: *Acti*, 1655, Dec. 5: "Sacra Congregatio iustis de causis mota deliberate decrevit nulli missionario apostolico cujusvis gradus conditionis praecminentiae religionis status etc. licere aliquod opus proprium seu alterius sub quovis praetextu per se vel per alium seu alios typis mandare absque ipsius S Congr. expressa licentia in scriptis in forma solita . . . sub poena privationis officii vocis activae et passivae suppressionis ejusdem operis et excommunicationis latae sententiae ipso facto incurrendae ac soli S D N reservatae, praeciando supradictis et cuilibet ipsorum ut casu quo dictam licentiam obtineant eandem in ipsius operis initio imprimere teneantur sub eisdem poenis etc. non obstantibus quibuscumque privilegiis facultatibus licentiis etc. etiam oreteus alias datis seu concessis: quae omnia et singula per praesens decretum revocata omnimode ceaseantur et pro revocatis habeantur.

gation, there were scarcely to be found any of the so-called Apostolic missionaries.¹⁰ Fourteen years later another decree was issued in which the Regulars were included, and the implication is that they had already been forbidden by former decrees to publish their writings on the missions.¹¹ Whether we have here merely an allusion to the decree of December 5, 1655, or whether other decrees are meant, a diligent search in the archives of the Propaganda has failed to reveal. Perhaps the decree of 1655 was considered to embrace also those who were not technically Missionaries Apostolic; but the American missionaries evidently did not think themselves bound by it. However, the same decree was renewed in 1672, and again, on February 28, 1673, a similar decree was issued.¹² But the missionaries in America still remained deaf to the orders of the Congregation until the Brief of Clement X was duly promulgated and met with instant obedience. The text of the Brief is found in full in the *Bullarium* of the Propaganda.¹³ It is a clear general prohibition of all missionary publications by any missionary whomsoever without the explicit permission of the Congregation. There was no mistaking its meaning and it would have been impossible to explain it away or to place a less rigorous interpretation upon it. The *Relations de la Nouvelle France* were included even though there was nothing in them to call for their condemnation or censure.

The historian of the Jesuits in Canada sees in the repeated explicit mention of the "*Societas etiam Jesu*" a particular proof of the personal animosity of the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda, Altieri, who obtained the Brief from the Pope and who was, notoriously, not a friend of the Society of Jesus.¹⁴ But from the Brief alone this conclusion is perhaps unwarranted. In this and in numerous other papal documents the Jesuits are specially mentioned for canonical reasons, their privileges and special papal exemptions making it necessary to name them explicitly. And still, though the conclusion of Rochemonteix is

¹⁰ Cf. *Collectanea*, Aug. 19, 1743: "Denominationem missionarii apostolici non competere nisi alumnis Colegiorum Pontificiorum aliisque sacerdotibus ad missiones exercendas deputatis per speciale decretum Sacrae Congregationis."

¹¹ Cf. Propaganda Archive, *Acti*, Sept. 17, 1669.

¹² *Ibid.*, Dec. 19, 1672, Febr. 28, 1673.

¹³ *Juris Pontificii de Propaganda Fide Pars prima*, Vol. I, p. 417; also *Collectanea* under date April 16, 1673.

¹⁴ Cf. Rochemonteix, *loc. cit.*, p. xliii *et seq.* "La Compagnie y est nommée quatre fois," *scil.* in the Brief *Credita*.

not warranted by the Brief alone, the two men who directed the Congregation of the Propaganda at this date cordially disliked the Jesuits and left nothing undone to bring them into absolute subjection to themselves. A letter of Cardinal Altieri to the Jesuit General Oliva and the marginal note of the latter on the copy in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale reveal the state of feelings better than any other sources we possess.¹⁵ It is to be noted in the accompanying citation that the neglect of the ordinary formalities has a greater significance in an Italian writing to an Italian, and that this significance pained the General. In this evident lack of understanding between the Prefect of the Propaganda and its Secretary on the one side and the Jesuits on the other is to be sought the reason why a compromise could not be reached which would enable the Fathers to continue their interesting and, for the historian at least, extremely important, Relations.¹⁶ It was easier to move the most arbitrary Monarch of Europe to rescind a royal ordinance than to arrange so simple a matter with those who presumed to speak in the name of Rome. And without the leave of the Propaganda even the "in subordinate"¹⁷ Jesuits dared not continue a work which was calculated to benefit the missions in America.

Detroit

WILLIAM R. CORRIGAN, S. J.

¹⁵ Molto reverendo Padre: per dare opportuno remedio a quei disordini che accadono alla giornata a causa che i missionarii dell' ordine di V[ostre] P[aternità] contra i decreti di questa S. Congregatione si fanno lecito di dare alle stampe alcuni libri che trattano di materie di missioni senza prima demandare e ricevere rispettivamente da questi Emm[inenti] i miei signori la loro approvazione ha voluto la Santità di Nostro Signore a supplicazione di questa Sacra Congregatione che io oltre i richiedere la P. V. a far osservare puntualmente i decreti suddetti mandì in sua mano l'aggiunto esemplare del Breve che a questo proposito è stato fatto per ordine di S. B. affineche Ella col rimettere copia di esso in mano dei suoi religiosi Provinciali comandi loro insieme l'osservaza di ciò che in questo si contiene. Alle sue Orazione mi raccomando al piacere di V. P. [signed] Card. Altieri Pref. (On the margin of a copy of this letter, which was sent to Père de la Chaise, written in the hand of Father General Oliva): "Noti V. R. l'ammarezza dello stilo e il modo acerbo del rimprovero senza eccezione de missionarii innocenti e senza lode minima del gran bene che si è fatto e delle vite date per propagazione della fede." Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Mss. Français, Nr. 9773. Printed in Rochemonteix, *loc. cit.*, p. xlvi.

¹⁶ At this time Urbano Cerri was Pro-Secretary of the Propaganda. He and Cardinal Altieri were in perfect agreement in their dislike for the Jesuits. Cerri's part in the suppression of the Relations is clear from a letter in which he begs the Holy Father to take a firm stand against the Jesuits on the question of mission publications. Cf. Vatican Library, Fondo Ottoboni, Nr. 3155, p. 24. The letter is bound between a copy of the Brief *Creditae* and a decree of the Propaganda, dated March 1, 1673, which renews the decree of Dec. 19, 1672.

¹⁷ The refusal of two Jesuits in the East, laboring under the protection of Portugal, to submit to French Vicars, whom they regarded as intruders working for the national interests of France, was generalized and made capital of by those who were intent on repressing the Jesuits.

CATHOLIC BEGINNINGS IN SOUTHEASTERN IOWA
1832-1844

I

Rat Row, Half Breed Tract, French Traders. A curious medley indeed are these symbols. And yet they are the important factors in Keokuk's early history. As we gaze upon them, Rat Row, Half-Breed Tract, French Traders, they become well nigh mysterious. Is it possible that they have any meaning or connection? Yes, such they have. In 1712, two Indian tribes, the Sacs and the Foxes having become allies, found their way to south-western Iowa. Here the Sacs had a village at Montrose, "at the head of the rapids."¹ By the Treaty of 1802 these Sac and Fox Indians had been divested of their Illinois lands; henceforth the Iowa Country became their chief hunting grounds. That statement brings us face to face with "Rat Row."

At the water's edge, between what are now Main and Blondeau Streets in the city of Keokuk, stood a long, rambling structure, two stories in height, with a crude stairway on the outside leading to the second story, and built mostly of round logs.² And "Rat Row" was the not very complimentary nickname of it. However, a dignified title it had, "Headquarters of the American Fur Company," being in fact a fur-trading post, where Frenchman and Indian met to bargain. There, too, we may conjecture, in the late afternoon shadow of that rambling structure, the roving Frenchman met the dusky squaw of the Sac or Fox tribe and a romance began. Frenchman, Indian, business, romance,—surely that old building teemed with those things. The fur trade and its later social derivatives made possible the "Half-Breed Tract."³

In 1824 some Sac and Fox chiefs went to see President Monroe at Washington, where they expressed willingness to give up

¹ Jacob Vander Zee, "The Half-Breed Tract," *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (Vol. 13, 1918), p. 156. Cf. William Salter, *Iowa, the First Free State in the Louisiana Purchase* (Chicago, 1905), pp. 26 *et seq.*, 39, 41, and 60. This section of Iowa is also called the "Half-Indian Tract."

² Virginia Wilcox Ivins, *Pen Pictures of Early Western Days* (1905), pp. 11 and 12. This is a volume of reminiscences of an 1840 Iowa pioneer.

³ Vander Zee, *loc. cit.*, p. 163. A large and detailed map of this Tract in the Keokuk Public Library was studied.

their lands in the new State of Missouri provided a tract of land be set aside for the half-breeds. Their wishes were complied with and ratified by the Senate of the United States on January 18, 1825. The Half-Breed Tract was the result; a tract of some 120,000 acres above the confluence of the Des Moines and Mississippi rivers.⁴ Obviously Keokuk, the "capital" of the Half-Breed Tract, was included in it, as also all the land lying between Keokuk and Fort Madison. No stingy gift, one would say, from our generous United States Government! The Indians guarded the interests of those half-breeds because the mothers of the latter were squaws of the Sac and Fox tribes. Their fathers, "squaw-men," were fur traders—mostly Frenchmen or American soldiers and traders. We say they were "mostly Frenchmen" on the word of Thomas Forsyth, who in 1831 sent a petition to the United States Government. He urged upon the government "the employment of a Catholic priest, to teach a school, and instruct the half-breeds in religion." Then he added: "This would be pleasing to the Indians, and might, at no great distance of time, entice some of the Indians to embrace civilized life." And his reason for this petition is even more significant and more to the point, namely, that nine-tenths of the fathers of the half-breeds were French Catholics.⁵ As we see it today, that petition was the birth of pioneer Catholicity in and about Keokuk. To be sure the Frenchmen were Catholic, at least nominally. As a matter of fact their religion was scarcely more than a bundle of traditions and vague ones at that.⁶ Squaw marriages, savage life, and Indian standards of conduct did not produce a fine brand of Catholicity in the Frenchmen or in their French-Indian offspring, whose number probably did not exceed fifty.⁷

II

It is a plain fact that the tide of immigration in the pioneer period followed the only highways of travel then to be found, rivers and other streams. In consonance with this statement we find that to the pioneer bent on reaching the Iowa Country the Father of Waters extended his best hospitality. Fur-trad-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁶ John F. Kempker, *History of the Catholic Church in Iowa*, p. 15.

⁷ Vander Zee, *loc. cit.*, p. 152.

ers, soldiers, explorers, missionary-priests—all used that kindly stream for conveyance. This is true of Marquette, Jolliet, La-Salle, Hennepin. After their time (towards the end of the seventeenth century) there is a void in records of Western history for more than a century. About 1800 the “white-man’s history” again opened, and again the Mississippi River was pressed into service. From the north and south travelers began to arrive by it. We shall have to pass over the layman, be he a land-grantee, trader, or soldier, since the purview of this sketch does not allow much space for secular history important though it is. Our present interest centers in certain “onward-bound priests” who passed Keokuk from north or south during the period 1817-1834. But first a word about the lay of the land from the view point of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Saint Louis, founded in the year 1764 by Pierre Liguist Laclede, a French aristocrat, became the see of a Catholic diocese on July 2, 1826.⁸ Extensive to a degree hard to comprehend today was the diocese of Bishop Rosati, an Italian Vincentian and the first occupant of the see of St. Louis. Under date of June 17, 1834, the Holy See sent a communication to him describing the limits of his diocese in these terms: “The diocese of St. Louis comprises the state of Missouri, together with the territory called Arkansas, and until the Holy See decrees otherwise, it shall include the territory also on the west side of the Mississippi [Iowa].”⁹ As if the above described territory were not sufficiently extensive, the western half of Illinois was also officially placed under his jurisdiction; for some years before, however, he had cared for it also.¹⁰ Substantially the same territory had been indicated by Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget of the Diocese of Bardstown as belonging to Rosati. A letter of his, of date 1832, bore the statement that the diocese of Saint Louis “comprised all of Arkansas, Missouri, and Iowa, and the Indian tribes beyond the Missouri line.”¹¹ Henceforth Saint Louis will be considered one terminus—the “*terminus a quo*.”

⁸ John Rothensteiner, *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis* (St. Louis, 1928), Vol. 1, pp. 99-103; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 13, p. 357, “Saint Louis.”

⁹ John Rothensteiner, “The Northeastern Part of the Diocese of Saint Louis under Bishop Rosati,” *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 2 (Apr. 1920), p. 411.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2 (Oct. 1919), p. 177; Vol. 2 (Apr. 1920), p. 411.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2 (Oct. 1919), p. 177.

Far above Keokuk, in the Prairie du Chien-Galena region, no little activity on the part of the Catholic Church was being manifested about this time—the early decades of the nineteenth century. Both from the north and from the south priests had gone to that region and were continuing to do so. That region was the “*terminus ad quem*” for priests from Saint Louis and Green Bay. At one time or another not a few of them passed by Keokuk as they journeyed to and fro.

As early as 1817 (when the Iowa Country was within the jurisdiction of the Diocese of New Orleans) a Trappist priest, Father Joseph Mary Dunand, went to Keokuk on his way from Saint Louis to Prairie du Chien.¹² His Diary, however, makes no record of his having given spiritual ministrations in that vicinity.¹³ That journey was made three years before Dr. Samuel Muir, the city's first white settler, crossed the Mississippi River from Illinois. Ten years later, Father Francis Vincent Badin might have looked upon this settlement as he passed by on his way to Saint Louis, 1827.¹⁴ Once the thirties opened, priests in numbers passed up and down, two of them being Fathers Joseph Lutz, 1830,¹⁵ and John McMahan, 1832,¹⁶ The only tangible evidence that any of these priests lingered in the vicinity of Keokuk is the recorded circumstance that Father McMahan sent a letter to Bishop Rosati from Keokuk.¹⁷ Nothing is to be gained by multiplying words and conjectures about these hidden years, 1817-1832. This is the sum total regarding the situation: we do not know with certainty that any of these priests cared for the Frenchmen, the Indians, and the French Indians in and around Keokuk. But an heroic priest of God now comes by way of the same friendly Mississippi to make religion in the Half-Breed Tract something more than a few vague traditions and sentiments, Father Charles Felix Van Quickenborne, a member of the Society of Jesus.¹⁸

¹² *Records of the Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. 26, No. 4, pp. 45-64; Vol. 27, No. 1, pp. 53-57, “Epistle or Diary of Father Marie Joseph Durand [Dunand],” translated from the French by Ella M. E. Flick.

¹³ Though a rapids is clearly referred to by Father Dunand, it cannot be said with certainty that he refers to the lower rapids, which extend northward from Keokuk for about eleven miles.

¹⁴ Rothensteiner, *ICHR.*, Vol. 2 (Oct. 1919), p. 186.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 191.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. 2 (Jan. 1920), p. 277.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹⁸ Rothensteiner, *History, Saint Louis*, Vol. 1, p. 652.

III

In a host of instances Jesuits, with their chosen missionary career, blazed the trail for the Catholic Church in America. Two such instances, and striking ones at that, occur in the case of the State of Iowa. The first priest to set foot on the soil of that commonwealth was a Jesuit missionary, Father James Marquette, while Father Charles Felix Van Quickenborne, also of the Company of Ignatius, was the first priest in the nineteenth century to minister to the Catholics of Iowa.¹⁹ Strange to say, too, Keokuk, the "capital" of the lowly Half-Breed Tract, was the locality first to receive ministrations at his hands.²⁰ Frenchmen, Indians, half-Indians, negro slaves, and Americans had a share one way or another in that Flemish black-robe's work.

Charles Felix Van Quickenborne was a Flemish priest, born in the village of Peteghem in the Diocese of Ghent, Belgium, and ordained a diocesan priest in 1812.²¹ Some years later he entered the Society of Jesus. Drawn to the missions of America during his noviceship, Father Van Quickenborne received permission to follow his attraction. During the period 1817-1823 his field of labor was at Whitemarsh, Maryland. Early in 1823 a band of Jesuits under his leadership made the long journey to Florissant, Missouri, intent upon establishing there a Jesuit mission and laboring among the Indians. Then in 1824 Bishop Dubourg, Ordinary of the Diocese of New Orleans, ap-

¹⁹ The following descriptive notation was taken from a copy of the original. "The Baptismal and Marriage Record of Father VanQuickenborne, kept during his trips through Missouri and Illinois in 1832 and 1833, is a booklet exactly six by four inches containing 108 pages; the first 20 are marriages, after which there follow 73 sentences in English (the first of all is in French) and after these the same number of sentences in some Indian tongue; then come 13 sentences or texts on obedience in English, followed by 11 in Indian. These cover 34 pages. Nineteen pages are blank, and 53 are baptismal entries. The book belongs to St. Mary's College, St. Mary's, Kansas." Through Father Gilbert J. Garraghan's permission graciously given Father Van Quickenborne's Record Book was transcribed at Saint Louis University.

²⁰ In the *Baptismal Record* the spelling "Keokuck" is given. On the fly-leaf Father VanQuickenborne makes a note to the effect "that Protestants may be permitted to stand as witnesses of the marriage of Catholics." It follows from this that those named in the narrative as witnesses were not all necessarily Catholics.

²¹ DeSmet, S. J., *Western Missions and Missionaries—A Series of Letters*, pp. 464-473; E. Laveille, S. J., *The Life of Father DeSmet, S. J. (1801-1873)*—Authorized translation by Marian Lindsay, *passim*. A study was made of Father VanQuickenborne's *Memorandum*, presumably of July 16, 1833, in the archives of the Archdiocese of St. Louis.

pointed Father Van Quickenborne "Vicar General of Upper Louisiana." Later, he was authorized by Bishop Rosati to make three arduous journeys into the Missouri, Illinois, and Iowa countries during the years 1832 and 1833, his travelling expenses being paid out of funds supplied by the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. The first and third journeys do not immediately concern us. Of supreme importance to the history of southeastern Iowa, however, is the second journey of Father Van Quickenborne.

He first attracts our attention as we see him crossing the Mississippi River to Keokuk, Iowa, from the "Head of the Rapids," Hancock County, Illinois. Fortunately Father Van Quickenborne's "Baptismal and Marriage Record Book, 1832-1833" has come down to us. With that precious document as our guide, Iowa's first priest of the nineteenth century is located definitely at Keokuk on October the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth, eighteen hundred and thirty-two. On every one of those days Van Quickenborne's record reveals that he either conferred the sacrament of Baptism in "Keokuk" or was the Catholic Church's official witness for the sacrament of matrimony. It may be of interest to note that he was "near Keokuk" on October 10, 1832, and was also at Fort Edwards (the present Warsaw in Illinois, about seven miles below Keokuk) on October 12, 1832. Three baptisms and five marriages for Keokuk itself are on record.

Since a unique historical interest attaches to this visit, the first fully recorded one of a Catholic priest to Iowa, we mention here the names of the principals in the sacraments received. The baptisms: October 6, 1832, Marie Louise, one year old, daughter of Joseph Frasier and Margaret, a Folle Avoine (Menominee) Indian, with Marie LaPaumerai as sponsor; October 8, 1832, Mary Jane, about 3 years old, and Andrew Jackson, about 6 months old, children of a slave who was the property of Isaac Camel. For Mary Jane the sponsor was Mrs. LaPomerai and for Andrew Jackson, Margaret LaPomerai. The marriages: October 7, 1832, John Baptiste Louis Forcier and Marie LeBeau, and as witnesses Augustus LaPomerai, Charpentier, and others; Jessoi Pellen (a non-Catholic) and Archange St. Jean Laperche (renewed consent); October 9, 1832, Paul Bisette and Marie Louise Bolon, with Pierre Riche Blondeau and M. LaPomerai, and others as witnesses; Peter Brusseau and Mary Louise Courville, with Edward Brichinelle and Mrs. LaPomerai

as witnesses. Of interest, too, is another marriage, "near Keokuck:" Andrew St. Amand and Mary Louise Blondeau, with two Catholic Sauk Indians, Charlotte and Virginia, as witnesses. From Father Van Quickenborne's record as here given it is noticed that many of the names are distinctively French. This is in keeping with what we know by tradition of the nationality of many inhabitants of the Half-Breed Tract. It is worthy of note, too, that Father Van Quickenborne included the "lower rapids" as one of the places where a church should be built, giving as a reason for it that "the funds can be raised very easily." This notation was made presumably on July 16, 1833, about nine months after his visit to this section of Iowa.

In order to obviate confusion in the matter it should be noted that Father Van Quickenborne has left no record of his having attended the Catholics of Iowa at any place other than Keokuk until July 10, 1833. Even at that later date, more than nine months after his Keokuk visit, the sole recorded place of his ministrations in the State of Iowa is Dubuque.²² In an earlier section of this paper mention was made of some "onward-bound priests." The important thing to remember is that they were "onward-bound." Historical research has not brought to light any record of their having tarried at Keokuk or, as a matter of fact, in any locality of Iowa. This one conclusion is certain: Keokuk was the first locality in Iowa visited by Father Charles F. Van Quickenborne, S. J. His Record Book plainly shows that he was there on the sixth, seventh, eighth, and ninth of October, 1832. Consequently whatever priority of priestly ministrations resulted from this heroic black-robe's efforts in Iowa, that priority naturally enriches the glory of Catholicity in southeastern Iowa. Father John A. Rothensteiner's prophecy that the name of "Father Felix Van Quickenborne, the Founder of the Missouri Province of the Society [of Jesus], will live on in history as one of our great men" finds fond hopes of realization in the hearts of Iowa Catholics.

IV

A perfect example of the indifference of the Catholic priest to his field of work is presented in the career of Father Peter

²² Dubuque was visited by Father Van Quickenborne on his third missionary journey. There is no record of baptisms conferred on this journey until Galena, Illinois, was reached. Davenport was not yet in existence.

Paul Lefevere. Centuries of Catholic civilization for an inheritance and here we find him in the uncouth Half-Breed Tract! He had been used to the sight of beautiful mediaeval cathedrals, the ever-continuing glory and marvel of Catholic Church history, and here he is in Southeastern Iowa dispensing the blessings of spiritual life, with ugly Rat Row the best handiwork of man's building instinct that he could look upon. Father Lefevere was the Catholic Church in action for the motley population at Keokuk when priestly pioneering was a long, drawn out martyrdom. And that was his inheritance when, on December 3, 1832, Bishop Rosati assigned him to Salt River, Ralls County, Missouri.²³

Nominally the Salt River district was the appointment received by this young priest; northern Missouri, southern Iowa, and western Illinois before long were his actual field of work. "This territory was the largest and most difficult of all in the Diocese of Saint Louis."²⁴ That is the way Father J. A. Rothensteiner, a Saint Louis historian of scholarly attainments, refers to this appointment. Only one anniversary of ordination behind him, and now large portions of three states to Catholicize!

When Father Lefevere was beginning this difficult work, surely his former discouraging experience must have been vividly before him. "We preached about six times in the courthouse," he is referring to New Madrid, Missouri, "where the people assembled merely to see one another for amusement and pastime as they say themselves."²⁵ A similar attitude, at least in effect, was assumed by the Salt River Catholics. The blunt, brave Father Lefevere, as he is called, threatened not but acted. Strange as it may seem, the indifference of his parish determined him to venture into the Iowa Country.²⁶

The plain word was now spoken to his Salt River parishioners that he was going "to visit the scattered Catholics on the side of Illinois and beyond the State of Missouri [that is, Iowa], that it was not left to their choice to have a stationary clergyman among them or not." And he went. "This missionary

²³ The Lefevere letters were located in the archives of the Archdiocese of Saint Louis, and were there studied by the writer. They were edited and published in full by Rev. John Rothensteiner in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, 1920.

²⁴ Rothensteiner, *ICHR*, Vol. 2, p. 396.

²⁵ Lefevere Letter, June 24, 1832. Archives of the Archdiocese of Saint Louis.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1834.

visit took me about three months during which I never could pass more than three nights in the same place."²⁷ After giving details about his work in Illinois, he continues about Iowa: "Then I returned on this side of the Mississippi among the Half-Indians and in the New Purchase where the Catholics are increasing very fast. The difficulties and hardships I had to struggle with were great; but in all this I had the consolation of baptizing several adult persons, and of seeing many Catholics, who until then had been cold and indifferent and had never made any use of the Church for many years, take a new start, as it were, in the way of their salvation, and devoutly approach the Sacraments." Further on in this letter which, incidentally, is dated July 3, 1834, Father Lefevere expressed an intention of not visiting this section again. A plan was offered by him, by way of compensation, to provide for the Catholics in the Half-Breed Tract. "If Mr. [Father] St. Cyr or any other priest were stationed at Quincy or at the head of the Rapids [Nauvoo], he would find there a wide, extensive field for his zeal in the cause of God. Besides many other Catholics scattered through the country, he would find four little congregations in a circuit, as it were, of forty or fifty miles at most. These congregations are as yet small, indeed, but very promising and increasing daily. There is one at Quincy, one at the head of the Rapids [Nauvoo], another on the fork of Crooked Creek, and a fourth one at the Foot of the Rapids among the half-Indians, where there are several French and American families living." Keokuk was located at the Foot of the Rapids.

We have it on Father Lefevere's words that there were in the Half-Breed Tract not only half-Indians but also "several French and American families." That statement calls to mind Cyrenus Cole's estimate as given in his *A History of the People of Iowa*. "There were a few Americans living in what is now Iowa—probably only forty or fifty. Nearly all of them lived in the Half-Breed Tract, between the Des Moines and Mississippi rivers above their confluence."²⁸ Mr. Cole's reference is to the population as it was about one year previous to Father Lefevere's visit. Dr. Isaac Galland placed the figure at fifty in all Iowa for June 1, 1833. Father Lefevere in his official report for

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Cyrenus Cole, *A History of the People of Iowa* (Cedar Rapids, 1921), p. 126.

1836 to the Bishop of St. Louis placed the number of Catholics in the Half-Breed Tract at thirty-eight.²⁹ Not until June 1, 1833, did the United States Government officially declare that any other part of Iowa was vacated by the Indians. Keokuk, (Puckeshetuck, its first Indian name, meaning "at the foot of the rapids"), was the first settlement in the present State of Iowa to have been visited by a Catholic priest in the nineteenth century.³⁰ That visit was made, as we have seen above, by Father Van Quickenborne October 6-9, 1832. Next came the visit of Father Peter Paul Lefevere sometime during the three months previous to July 3, 1834. Since the Iowa Country was visited by him after he had traversed Illinois for "forty and fifty miles backward and forward" along the Mississippi River, the writer is much inclined to place Father Lefevere's visit to Keokuk during the month of June.³¹

Although this well-nigh ubiquitous missionary averred in his 1834 letter that "as for my part, if I stay on Salt River, I absolutely could not visit these places any longer" (and he gave reasons for the decision), yet on March 9, 1837, almost three years later, he wrote to his bishop: "In the missions I have hitherto attended there are fourteen stations . . . Two in the Wisconsin Territory. I. at Keokuk in the Half-Indian Tract between the rivers Des Moines and the Mississippi; II. on the Skunk River ten miles west [north was meant] from Fort Madison."³² Again in this 1837 letter he said: "Last winter I was called to the sick . . . once to the Des Moines River, and once into the Wisconsin Territory 150 miles north from Ralls County."³³ To judge from his descriptions the Mississippi River might have been kindly to other priests; but surely it was not so to him. On one occasion he had to find his way through eighteen inches of snow for twelve miles on the ice of the Mis-

²⁹ Lefevere Report for 1836. Archives of the Archdiocese of Saint Louis.

³⁰ Cf. *supra*, "The Baptismal and Marriage Record of Father VanQuickenborne."

³¹ Father Lefevere makes no specific reference to any place in Iowa except to the community "at the Foot of the Rapids." His reference to "the Head of the Rapids" most probably refers to Nauvoo, Illinois, as may be gathered from the Catholic Directories of later years. No locality is mentioned "in the New Purchase." The letter of Father Lefevere here quoted would fix the time of his presence in Keokuk rather late in this missionary journey.

³² *Lefevere Letter* of March 9, 1837. Archives of the Archdiocese of Saint Louis.

³³ *Ibid.*, July 3, 1834.

issippi. At another time when a heavy thaw had set in, a race for his life had to be made to avoid the impending freshets.

This 1837 letter makes evident that Father Lefevere did not stay by his resolution of 1834 not to visit these places again. The compelling reasons were frankly given at that time. "As for my part, if I stay on Salt River, I absolutely could not visit those places any longer. It would be absenting myself too long from the congregation here, and the distance being so great, I could not stand for long being dragged continually through rivers and swamps to visit these places."³⁴ Keokuk, at the foot of the rapids, was one of the places referred to in 1834.

It may well be that Father Lefevere actually visited a greater number of places in the Quincy-Keokuk-Nauvoo district after 1834 than before 1834. In 1834 this general statement was made by him: "There are here, as it were, seven small congregations in a circuit of about one hundred and twenty miles, and if in some of these places a little chapel were erected it would be the means of collecting the Catholics together and making conversions, and also of establishing the Church permanently in these parts."³⁵ This information was given in Father Lefevere's letter of 1834. Above, we quoted a section of his 1837 letter in which reference was made to fourteen stations. Two of them were listed for Wisconsin Territory: Keokuk and the mission on Skunk River. Not a little significance must be attached to the numerical growth of stations in general from seven to fourteen, and in Iowa from one to two. Nor must one pass over lightly his words referring to calls in the winter time, "once to the Des Moines River, and once into Wisconsin territory 150 miles north from Ralls County." The only conclusion to be drawn from the words of this apostle of hardship is that at least on three occasions, and probably four, his journeyings brought him into the Iowa Country. Surely on two occasions Keokuk received the benefits of his ministrations. In the light of this discussion are we not to conclude that Father Lefevere's interests became not narrowed but enlarged during the 1834-1837 period, and that the zeal which singled him out later for episcopal dignity made him undergo, surely in courageous manner, life-sapping journeys into the Iowa Country? His mission at Salt River from 1832 to 1841 was truly a trying one, bringing

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ *Ibid.*

him "almost eight years of ceaseless trouble and toil."³⁶ Blunt, brave Father Lefevere, Bishop Rosati liked your bluntness; we, your bravery. With truth Bishop Lefevere wrote a few years later to the priests of the Diocese of Detroit: "Having been inured to the labors of a missionary life, for many years, in a remote part of the diocese of St. Louis, we feel ready to share with you, venerable brethren, all the labors of the ministry."³⁷

In 1834 the missionary had pleaded for another priest to share the labors of his extensive territory. The long hoped-for assistance finally came with Father August F. Brickwedde's appointment to Quincy in 1837.³⁸ That change has its importance for Catholic church history in Keokuk, for there is some probability that the care of the Keokuk region was then lifted from Father Lefevere. Although no specific information has come down to us that Father Brickwedde ever attended the Catholics in and around Keokuk, we do know that his services were extended to the German Catholic settlements at Sugar Creek, West Point, and Fort Madison.³⁹ On the other hand the fact remains that no further word is heard from Father Lefevere after his letter of March 9, 1837. At all events, his letter of July 3, 1834, contains specific, indisputable reference to Catholicity in southeastern Iowa. Through him the Catholic Church accepted, a second time, the challenge to care for the Half-Breed Tract population. A vigorous embodiment, indeed, of that acceptance was Peter Paul Lefevere.

The following item, which appeared in the *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith* for November, 1841, was to bring joy to the Catholics of southeastern Iowa. "Peter Paul Lefevere, born in the diocese of Ghent, and for a long time missionary in the diocese of St. Louis, is appointed [November 22, 1841] Bishop of Zela *in partibus*, and Coadjutor-administrator of the diocese of Detroit."⁴⁰ Thirteen years before Bishop Rosati had commented in these words on Father Lefevere's work: "Mr. Lefevere keeps churches and congregations in the best order.

³⁶ Rothensteiner, ICHR, Vol. 2 (Apr. 1920), p. 399.

³⁷ *The New York Freeman's Journal*, Dec. 18, 1841, "Pastoral Letter of Peter Paul Lefevere." Contains a brief item about his consecration.

³⁸ *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Boniface Congregation, Quincy, Illinois* (1912), p. 10; Kempker, *Records*, Vol. 2, p. 133.

³⁹ Baptismal Register of Saint Boniface Parish, Quincy, Illinois.

⁴⁰ *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Vol. 4 (Nov. 1841), p. 477.

The people are very good Catholics."⁴¹ Evidently the later appointment was not an accident. Keokuk's second priest-visitor became a bishop. No slight distinction, indeed, and an auspicious beginning for Catholicism there. Father John A. Rothensteiner, who has made an intimate study of the Lefevere letters has written strong words worth remembering by the Catholics of Iowa. "The hero of this religious movement is the man of untiring zeal and energy, Father, afterwards Bishop, Peter Paul Lefevere, whose missionary territory was the largest and most difficult of all in the diocese."

With Bishop-elect Lefevere's departure from his field of activity during the years 1832-1841, the center of interest in our story will shift sooner or later from Rat Row to Saint John the Evangelist Church. Meantime, Alsatian, French, and Italian priests will serve the Catholics of Keokuk.⁴²

V

After Father Lefevere's final visit to Keokuk, referred to in his letter of March 9, 1837, was that community deprived of priestly ministrations? A study of the records at hand does not answer that question for the years immediately following. But let us study the probabilities of the question, for there are probabilities.

The Catholic Almanac for the year 1838 contained this pertinent item relative to southeastern Iowa: "The Reverend Irenaeus St. Cyr visits the English Congregation in this town [Quincy] once a month; 1. Hancock Co.—a church to be built at the Des Moines Rapids . . ." ⁴³ The question naturally arises on reading the above: where are the Des Moines Rapids? Already the answer has been given: the Des Moines Rapids are in the Mississippi River, and the foot of those rapids is at Keokuk, Iowa. Now, we have the statement, "a church to be built at the Des Moines Rapids." What is the inescapable interpretation? Father St. Cyr, a very much loved missionary, and rightly so, was appointed to the region about Keokuk. The item last quoted calls to memory Father Lefevere's request made in his letter of July 3, 1834: "If Mr. St. Cyr, or any other priest, were

⁴¹ Rosati to the Very Rev. John Timon, Perryville, Missouri, October 20, 1838. Archives of the Archdiocese of Saint Louis.

⁴² The priests referred to are Fathers J. G. Alleman, O. P., Lucien Galtier, and Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, O. P.

⁴³ *The Catholic Almanac*, 1838, p. 106.

stationed at Quincy or at the Head of the Rapids [Nauvoo], he would find there a wide extensive field for his zeal in the cause of God . . . He would find four little congregations in a circuit, as it were, of forty or fifty miles at most . . . one at the Foot of the Rapids among the Half-Indians, where there are several French and American families living."⁴⁴ Apparently Father Lefevere's request was granted, not immediately, but after a lapse of a few years. And a great priest of God he was, Father Irenaeus St. Cyr, who was chosen to carry forward Father Lefevere's work in the western Illinois district. In 1834 the latter had made a touching request that could only have come straight from the heart of a man of faith, namely, that a brother priest be stationed near him. "Then, at least, we could sometimes see one another. We could ask for consolation in affliction, counsel in doubts, without being exposed so much to dying without the consolation of receiving the last Sacraments, as [happened to] Mr. [Father] McMahon of afflicting memory."⁴⁵ A personal answer, in the literal sense of the word, was received to this request: Father Irenaeus St. Cyr.

One other word should be said in connection with Father St. Cyr's coming. It has been pointed out by historians using the *Catholic Directories* that a space of time, now a matter of a few months and then again approximating one year, must be allowed for the gathering, transmitting, and compiling of information contained in these volumes, especially in the earlier ones. In the instance of Father St. Cyr's being at Keokuk, the words, "A church to be built on the Des Moines Rapids," are to be interpreted of an intention belonging to the year 1837.⁴⁶ Hence, the inference that Father St. Cyr's appointment to the region about Keokuk was given him very likely in 1837.

Our conclusion, then, is this: there is no certainty that Father St. Cyr ever visited Keokuk. Probably he was in the vicinity of Keokuk, that is, at Nauvoo, during 1838. Moreover, because of his proximity to Keokuk, coupled with the importance attached to it by his predecessor, Father Lefevere, the writer considers it probable that Father St. Cyr attended the Catholics in the "capital" city of the Half-Breed Tract.

Not a little corroboration of this probability is found in a letter written by Father St. Cyr at Fountain Green, August 6,

⁴⁴ *Lefevere Letter*, July 3, 1834. Archives of the Archdiocese of Saint Louis.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ *Cf., supra*, §5.

1838. These are his words, in part: "I expect to start Thursday for Quincy, then to Commerce (later Nauvoo), thence home again."⁴⁷ Two comments on these words are in order. First Nauvoo and Keokuk were a part of the same missionary district during the period of the thirties, just as northern Missouri, western Illinois, and eastern Iowa were a geographical unit as regarded missionary activity on a large scale. Secondly, Father St. Cyr in his journey from Quincy to Nauvoo might well have tarried at Keokuk, since that city lay in his direct path.⁴⁸

So far the point has been made that Father St. Cyr was appointed to the region about Keokuk. Was he ever in Keokuk? That is one of the "unsolved questions." True, the Directory speaks of "a church to be built on the Des Moines Rapids." But where along the Des Moines Rapids, (the Rapids are about eleven miles in length) was the church to be built? at Keokuk or Sandusky or Galland or Montrose or Nauvoo? Looking intently at all the records, we have no secure basis for asserting that Keokuk was the locality referred to. It is a fact indeed that a church was not built at Keokuk at this time.⁴⁹

In 1837 Father Lefevere sent to his bishop a memorandum about the missions he had been attending. Later in the year he was succeeded in the Quincy, Illinois, region by Father August Florentius Brickwedde.⁵⁰ Having heard of the need of priests for German-speaking Catholics in this country, Father Brickwedde bade farewell to his native Fuerstenau in Hanover and came to America, landing at New York, July 4, 1837. A large congregation of German immigrants made up his company. They were intent upon a settlement somewhere "in the wilds of Missouri or Illinois." Bishop Rosati soon accepted him for the diocese of Saint Louis and sent him to Quincy to establish the "first national parish in the Mississippi Valley."⁵¹ In consonance with Father Brickwedde's coming to America, his chief interest was the care of German Catholics. Some miles

⁴⁷ Rothensteiner, ICHR, Vol. 3 (Jan. 1921), p. 290.

⁴⁸ It is not certain that the journey referred to was made by Father St. Cyr.

⁴⁹ Keokuk's first Catholic Church was built during 1844. Father Kempker refers to a church at the head of the rapids which Father Lefevere contemplated building. "The prospect of having a church built at the head of the rapids seems to have failed," Kempker, *op. cit.*, p. 17. The writer thinks that Nauvoo, at the head of the rapids, was the more likely location for the church referred to in the *Catholic Almanac* of 1838.

⁵⁰ Rothensteiner, ICHR, Vol. 3 (Jan. 1921), p. 286.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

above Keokuk were a few German settlements. From 1837 to 1841 Father Brickwedde was their priest. He attended Sugar Creek, West Point, Fort Madison, and built a church in 1839 "on Sugar Creek in the southeastern corner of Iowa." Incidentally, that church, St. James's, was the first one erected in this section of Iowa.⁵²

The main reason for introducing Father Brickwedde and his clerical services in this paper is to make clear that as early as 1837 he was ministering in this vicinity. Did he serve the Catholics of Keokuk also? There is no record to show that he did.⁵³ Father John F. Kempker, premier historian of Iowa Catholicity, writing in 1887, made this statement: "It does not appear that he [Father Brickwedde] made any visits to Keokuk or Montrose, and it is probable that these places were considered to be subject to the jurisdiction of English-speaking priests, as Father Hunter [Father Hilary Tucker, above referred to, is meant] was at this time in Quincy and visited the present Warsaw and Nauvoo."⁵⁴ Once more then is presented an "unsolved question." Records do not attest Father Brickwedde's having attended the Catholics of Keokuk, while diligent search through the records at Saint Boniface Church, Quincy, failed to disclose connection with Keokuk.⁵⁵

Quincy, Illinois, again comes into the story of Catholicity in Keokuk with Father Hilary Tucker's appointment. On May 23, 1839, Father Tucker assumed spiritual charge of the English-speaking Catholics in that city.⁵⁶ However, like that of so many other pioneer priests, his jurisdiction was not confined to one group. Not with certainty can this young priest, or-

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 287. A deal of information about Father Brickwedde's activities in Iowa was found by the writer in various letters in the Archives of the Archdiocese of Saint Louis and also in the records of Saint Boniface Parish, Quincy, Illinois. The important letters are dated January 4 and April 22, 1839. Not until 1840 and 1841 respectively were churches built at Burlington and Fort Madison. There are mentioned two other very early churches in southeastern Iowa. Both of them are shrouded in mystery. One, "the little Brown Shanty Church on the canal near the site of Maurice Blondeau's house," and the other, in Green Bay Township, Lee County—if ever they existed—suggest an ancient period in Iowa Catholic church history about which nothing is known. Cf. *Portrait and Biographical Album of Lee County, Iowa* (1887), p. 607. The boundaries of Green Bay Township are indicated on p. 638.

⁵³ A diligent search has been made of records preserved in Saint Louis, Quincy, West Point, Saint Paul's, and Burlington.

⁵⁴ Kempker, *Records*, Vol. 2 (1886-1888), p. 133.

⁵⁵ West Point and vicinity and Fort Madison were attended by Father Brickwedde.

⁵⁶ Rothensteiner, *ICHR*, Vol. 3 (Apr. 1921), p. 392.

dained scarcely two years at the time he went to Quincy, be connected with Keokuk's Catholicity. However, his letters reveal that he was in close proximity to Keokuk during the year 1839. For instance, on July 19, 1839, he wrote: "I was lately at Warsaw about thirty-five miles above this place where the old Fort Edwards stands." Again, on August 29, 1839, reference is made to a recent trip: "I have this moment returned from Warsaw, thirty-five miles from here, where I was called two nights since: I have not slept for the last fifty hours and rode eighty five miles."⁵⁷ Only seventy miles had to be covered for that "round trip." Might it be that the extra fifteen miles (the difference between seventy and eighty-five miles) are to be accounted for by his going to Keokuk? We do not know, and any affirmative statement would be, at the best a surmise. He does not say that he crossed the Mississippi River to the Iowa Country.⁵⁸

If Father Tucker actually went over to Keokuk, certainly we should appreciate his having recorded it as much as he appreciated the history of Warsaw before his time. His interest in the latter is shown in these words written by him on August 29, 1839: "Just before, in digging a well, they found the grave of a person buried there [Warsaw] probably sixty or seventy years, and in it a silver crucifix of considerable size. I was very desirous of getting it but it fell into the hands of a protestant lady who would not part with it. I will be careful to gain what information I can, that might be interesting to religion or history in this place." Did Father Tucker, then, visit Keokuk? That is another of the "unsolved questions."

VI

"In those days there came to the territory to preach to the rough and uneducated, a man of the highest education and refinement, the Reverend Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, one of the most remarkable men connected with the early church history of Iowa."⁵⁹ In these words an Iowa historian, Cyrenus Cole, pays tribute to another priest of south-eastern Iowa.

Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, Italian born, 1806, came to America in 1828. Blessed with a vocation to the religious life,

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

⁵⁸ Warsaw, located on the eastern shore of the Mississippi River, is about eight miles below Keokuk.

⁵⁹ *Cole*, op. cit., pp. 183 and 184.

he was already garbed in the Dominican habit upon his arrival. After two years of study here in America, this romantic, chivalrous priest of God was elevated to the priesthood. "And a few weeks later, he was setting foot on the Island of Macinac, the most remote spot of the Diocese of Cincinnati."⁶⁰ Zealous man that he was, his efforts could not be confined within such compass. Traveling, ministering, and building were to be his lot for many a year. As early as 1835 his presence thrilled the Catholics of Iowa.⁶¹ The eastern portion of our state he made one of his major fields and he liked to linger on and travel over the Iowa prairies. "His parish was the whole Mississippi Valley for two hundred miles or more."⁶² To anyone reading his *Memoirs* the following description of Father Mazzuchelli will be seen to be sober truth: "The story of Father Mazzuchelli's work in Iowa reads like a romance. He went to many places; he labored unceasingly. He traveled on foot and on horseback, in ox-wagon and on boats. A stranger in a strange land, he slept on the floors of cabins and he ate often the food of savages."⁶³

It is a pleasure to be able to connect this spotless Dominican priest with the Keokuk mission. The *Catholic Almanac* for 1841 supplies this information: "Burlington, Des Moines Co., St. Paul's—a brick church erected in the year 1840, with convenient rooms for schools. Very Rev. S. Mazzuchelli. Sermon in English. There are four stations attached to this parish: 1st Madison, Lee Co. 2nd *Half Breed Tract*, same county; 3rd Iowa City, Johnson Co.; 4th Bloomington (called Muscatine since 1841) Muscatine Co. The number of Catholics in this parish and its stations is about twelve hundred."⁶⁴

In another section of this sketch the historical significance of the term "Half Breed Tract" has been explained. Without doubt Keokuk is the station meant for at the time referred to, 1840, the importance of all the other settlements which possibly

⁶⁰ Archbishop John Ireland, Introduction (p. 5) to *Memoirs of Bishop Loras, First Bishop of Dubuque, Iowa and of the Memoirs of His Family from 1792 to 1858* by the Rev. Louis Decailly (New York, 1897).

⁶¹ Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli, *Memoirs Historical and Edifying of a Missionary Apostolic* (Chicago, 1915), pp. 163-165.

⁶² Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, p. 184.

⁶⁴ *The Catholic Almanac*, 1840, p. 106. The records of Saint Paul's Parish, Burlington, are extant for that period. Keokuk is not mentioned at all. Muscatine, another mission of Father Mazzuchelli at this time, has some few baptisms recorded.

could have been referred to had declined. Not for long, apparently, was Father Mazzuchelli assigned to this district. Only in one issue of the *Catholic Almanac*, that of 1841, is his name linked with the Half Breed Tract. Further than this connection we do not know anything of his activities in Keokuk. We do know, however, that great church-builder though he was (churches at Burlington, Muscatine, Davenport, and Iowa City in the Diocese of Davenport were his handiwork), he did not see fit to build here even a little church. Quite probably, however, if not certainly, this much loved pioneer priest included within his circuit the spiritual care of the Catholics of ancient Keokuk, the "capital" of the Half Breed Tract. This was late in 1840 or early in 1841.⁶⁵

VII

All church activities in the south-eastern corner of Iowa discussed so far have been of a kind: intermittent visits and probable visits of pioneer priests during the period 1834-1840. There has been no word of a resident pastor; no word of a permanent sanctuary where Christ dwelt and the faithful worshipped. But one must not be surprised. Take the year 1834, when Father Lefevre first visited Keokuk, "the Foot of the Rapids." The Iowa Country had been without any general government whatsoever from 1821 until that year, 1834, when it was made an adjunct to Michigan Territory. It was not until October, 1835, that a general election was held. When Michigan took its place among the states of the Union in 1836, a new territory, the Territory of Wisconsin, was created, Iowa being in the western part of that territory. Then, two years later, 1838, the Territory of Iowa was formed. It was not until 1846 that the United States Government considered it proper to admit Iowa to statehood.

Our story of Catholicity in southeastern Iowa has advanced only to 1840. Bishop Mathias Loras had been in Iowa only since April 19, 1839, although the Diocese of Dubuque was erected in 1837.⁶⁶ There had been but two priests within the confines of the present state of Iowa during the few years immediately preceding his coming. They were Father Peter Paul Lefevre and

⁶⁵ Cf. *supra*, §5, for the time element in the *Catholic Almanac*.

⁶⁶ *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Vol. 1 (March, 1839), p. 100; Mazzuchelli, *op. cit.*, p. 201.

Father Samuel Charles Mazzuchelli. In 1839 there were but two Catholic Churches in all Iowa, St. Raphael's, Dubuque, and Saint Anthony's, Davenport.⁶⁷ A third church, St. James's, on Sugar Creek, Lee County, was built probably later in that year, 1839.⁶⁸

During the period already traversed in this sketch Iowa was indeed an untouched country. Its "white man's history" was scarcely begun. Should we be surprised, then, that a fully organized Catholic Church did not yet exist in southeastern Iowa as late as 1840?

VIII

It is 1840 or thereabouts. Burlington is no longer the home address of Keokuk's pastor of souls. Fort Madison has replaced it, and the Dominican, Father Mazzuchelli, is followed by the Dominican, Father John George Alleman.⁶⁹ Why did he prefer Fort Madison to Keokuk? Father John Larmer, writing in the nineties, gave an answer: "After looking over northeastern Missouri, and the adjacent portions of Illinois and Iowa, Father Alleman resolved to establish his permanent mission at Fort Madison, a beautiful site above the first rapids on the upper Mississippi. His object in settling, so to speak, at this point, was to have a permanent 'shanty' in a central location, whence he could the more effectively perform the great work which his former experience as a missionary told him lay before him."⁷⁰

That Father Alleman attended Keokuk from Burlington and later from Fort Madison is certain. The only extant baptismal register for those days, that of Saint Paul's, Burlington, records his attending Keokuk in 1841 and 1842. During that period Father Alleman signed himself "Priest of Burlington."⁷¹ The corroborating word of Father Kempker has also been given.

⁶⁷ Mazzuchelli, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 and 193.

⁶⁸ Kempker, "A Decennium of the Catholic Church in Lee County, Iowa," *Catholic Historical Researches* (1886), p. 130. Bishop Loras reached Iowa April 19, 1839. Kempker wrote that "in 1839 he [John Henry Kempker] and a few neighbors hewed down some of the tallest trees in the pristine woodlands of Sugar Creek valley, with which they built a church in honor of St. James, near Kempker's house" (p. 130). Writers on the subject have not included Saint James Church in the list of Iowa Catholic churches at the time of Bishop Loras's coming.

⁶⁹ *Baptismal Register*, Saint Paul's Church, Burlington, Iowa, 1841; also *Baptismal Register* at Saint Raphael's, Dubuque, 1841. The records of Saint Joseph's Parish, Fort Madison, have perished.

⁷⁰ Rev. John Larmer cited by Zaiser, *The Diamond Jubilee of St. Joseph's Church, Fort Madison, Iowa, 1840-1915*, p. 28.

⁷¹ *Records* of Saint Paul's Parish, Burlington

"When Father Alleman assumed charge of Lee County, he made Keokuk one of these stations, which he attended regularly and he ministered faithfully to the wants of the people, but could make no effort for material progress."⁷² The *Catholic Almanac* of 1843 affords this information: "Fort Madison, Lee Co., St. Joseph's, a small temporary brick buliding—Rev. J. C. Alleman. West Point, Keokuk Station, Farmington, Lee Co., a station [Farmington is in Van Buren County]."⁷³

Concerning Father Alleman's activities in Keokuk the writer has been able to gather information of only a very general nature. Keokuk he "attended regularly and he ministered faithfully to the wants of the people, but could make no effort for material progress."⁷⁴ The latter part of the statement amounts to this: he was not able to build a church here. And except for a rather brief period during 1844 Father Alleman was in charge of Keokuk from about 1840 until about 1848.⁷⁵ "From Fort Madison," says Father Larmer, "he [Father Alleman] usually traveled on foot, as I saw him for years having under his arm a pair of saddle-bags which contained all his church—all a missionary's conveniences to celebrate Mass. Being of huge stature and splendid health, he could cover in a morning on foot, without great fatigue, as much ground as an average horse." Old settlers of Fort Madison used to recall Father Alleman "with his saddle-bags strapped over his shoulders, carrying his mass vestments, altar stone, chalice, and so forth, as he started on a tramp to West Point, Keokuk, and other Missions much further distant."⁷⁶

An anecdote current in Keokuk for a long time has been put in writing by Father Larmer. "His [Father Alleman's] untiring zeal and faithful labors so won the affections of the Indians that . . . the Chiefs of their council offered him what is now the northern half of the city of Keokuk. . . . But the good priest replied: "No, I am a poor Dominican Friar, I made a vow of poverty, and another to establish missions; with Gods' grace I will keep them both."⁷⁷ No one has explained just what right "the

⁷² Kempker, *Records*, pp. 137 and 138.

⁷³ *The Catholic Almanac* (1843), p. 81.

⁷⁴ Kempker, *Records*, pp. 137 and 138. Father J. B. Villars then became resident pastor.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

⁷⁶ Zaiser, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

⁷⁷ Larmer, quoted in Zaiser, *op. cit.*, p. 28. This parcel of land was situated in the Half-Breed Tract. Not a little of it had passed to new owners. Later there was much litigation about it.

Chiefs and their councils" had to offer that generous gift to Father Alleman.

One more priest is thus added to our growing list of those who served the Catholics of Keokuk during the formative period. For eight years, 1840 to 1848, Keokuk was one of Father Alleman's interests. An untiring worker, an establisher of missions far and near, a man in whom the spirit of poverty and charity were deeply ingrained, a courageous man in the cause of Christ, all these Father Alleman was, not only for Keokuk, but for Ohio, Iowa, and Illinois.

IX

"Yesterday [January 5, 1840] for the first time I conferred priesthood on three of our young levites, in the presence of an immense crowd of Protestants and Catholics."⁷⁸ So wrote Bishop Loras, January 6, 1840, to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. For Keokuk the item has a significance. In this ordination ceremony, the first in the Northwest, one of Keokuk's priests, Father Lucien Galtier, was a principal. It was his ordination day. However, he was not immediately sent to Keokuk, for from 1840 to 1844 he was located where is now the great metropolis of Minnesota, Saint Paul.⁷⁹

The Very Reverend Mathias Loras, a native of France and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Mobile, Alabama, was appointed the first bishop of the diocese of Dubuque. At the time of his consecration, December 10, 1837, there was but one priest and one church, an unfinished one at that, in his diocese. Having turned to his native France for aid, his first quest for priestly help brought to the shores of America in the fall of 1838 two priests and four seminarians. One of the latter was Lucien Galtier, a subdeacon, who, on January 6, 1840, was ordained a priest for the diocese of Dubuque. His studies had been completed at the well-known St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland.⁸⁰

On June 23, 1839 Bishop Loras went from Dubuque to St. Peter's, Minnesota. He there found 185 Catholics and for thir-

⁷⁸ *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Vol. 3 (1840), p. 348.

⁷⁹ J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of Saint Paul and of the County of Ramsey, Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1876), p. 110; Msgr. A. Ravoux, *Reminiscences, Memoirs, and Lectures* (St. Paul, 1890), pp. 3 and 4.

⁸⁰ Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Archbishop John Ireland's words are quoted.

teen days remained with them.⁸¹ "The next spring [1840] he was reminded, one day, when an up-bound steamer whistled for the landing, of his promise to send a priest there. He selected the Rev. Lucien Galtier for the work, and, in one hour, that clergyman was en route to his new field of labor." The date was April 26, 1840.⁸²

The high mark of interest in his work at St. Paul, Minnesota, was reached when, on November 1, 1841, Father Galtier dedicated his "new basilica" under the patronage of Saint Paul. These words of his are important: "I expressed a wish, at the same time, that the settlement would be known by the same name, and my desires were obtained."⁸³ This statement of fact was penned in 1861 at the request of Bishop Thomas Grace. The city of Saint Paul should be thankful for the suggestion, for up to that time, 1841, the settlement had been known as "Pig's Eye." The significance of the change in name was caught at an early date for in 1850 Governor Goodhue, said:

"Pig's Eye, converted thou shalt be, like Saul;
Arise, and be, henceforth, Saint Paul."

In 1844 Father Galtier was transferred to Keokuk. "On the 25th of May, 1844, he left Saint Peter's and went to Keokuk, Iowa."⁸⁴ To corroborate the fact that it was not later than May 25, 1844, we have the Baptismal Register of Saint Raphael's, Dubuque, which contains the record of a baptism conferred by Father Galtier on May 26, 1844.⁸⁵ Later in this sketch the significance of that baptism will be pointed out, as being the only one recorded by him in the register.

Up to the present there has been general agreement that Father Galtier was located in Keokuk only during one month, August, 1844. Thus Father Kempker: "During this time of his [Father Alleman's] charge, however, there was one exception, and that was in the month of August, 1844, when Rt. Rev. Dr. Loras, Bishop of Dubuque, sent Keokuk a resident pastor in the person of Rev. Lucien Galtier, whom he transferred from St. Peter's River . . ." ⁸⁶ It is likely that the following state-

⁸¹ *Annals*, Vol. 3 (1840), p. 342. For a fine treatment cf. Hoffman, M. M., "New Light on Old St. Peter's and early St. Paul," *Minnesota Magazine of History*, Vol. 8 (1927), pp. 27-51.

⁸² Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 109. Father Galtier's words are cited.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁸⁵ *Baptismal Register*, (1844), Saint Raphael's, Dubuque.

⁸⁶ Kempker, *Catholic Church in Iowa*, p. 138.

ments in Father A. J. Zaiser's volume *Diamond Jubilee of St. Joseph's Church* (Fort Madison, Iowa), are based on Father Kempker's article. "Father Galtier remained just long enough to erect a log church." That space of time is more accurately determined by him in the words: "the edifice was completed within one month from the date the building was commenced."⁸⁷ In other words Father Galtier was stationed in Keokuk only one month. But before proceeding further with the discussion of how long Father Galtier was resident in Keokuk, let us digress to an account of the building of Saint John the Evangelist Church. The account as given by Father Kempker is substantially the content of an interview given by H. V. Gildea, a Davenport builder, in 1885.⁸⁸ The interview appeared in print first in 1886 and then, in a more extended version, in 1887.⁸⁹

"In 1844 Rt. Rev. Bishop Loras sent Father Galtier there [Keokuk] to build a church. He took with him J. M. Gildea, a builder, and securing logs six miles north of town from the timber claim of Mr. Tanning [Fanning], they erected a log church, twenty feet by thirty feet in size, and twelve feet high, the building being completed in the space of a month, and dedicated in honor of St. John the Evangelist. . . . The location of St. John's Church was on the corner of Second and Blondeau streets, on the brow of the Bluff, with a commanding view of the Mississippi River and the Des Moines Rapids."⁹⁰ The account as given in 1887 is richer in details. "At Keokuk this most exemplary priest [Father Galtier] engaged H. V. Gildea to build the church, which he superintended in person. The site was on Second and Blondeau streets, on the brow of the hill overlooking the rapids, with a magnificent view of Illinois and Missouri; the building material was stone and logs; the size 20 by 30 feet, and 12 feet high. The stones for the foundation, rudely formed, were taken from the building site. T. Fanning, from Dubuque, owned a timber claim a few miles up the stream, and gave unlimited privilege of taking the logs. Thither the priest wended his way, and with the aid of two or three French settlers hewed the timber and rafted it to the building

⁸⁷ Zaiser, *op. cit.*, pp. 83 and 54.

⁸⁸ An interview given J. F. Kempker by H. V. Gildea, December 23, 1885. This document is in the writer's possession.

⁸⁹ These two sources will be indicated immediately.

⁹⁰ Kempker, "A Decennium of the Catholic Church in Lee County, Iowa," *Catholic Historical Researches* (1886), pp. 128-131.

site. In the fatigue of the first day's labor it was found that no one had provided a hamper for appeasing the hunger, but fishing in the river proved to be good. The roof of the church was made of clap-boards, and within one month the building was completed, and dedicated in honor of St. John the Evangelist. There were at this time only very few Catholics in Keokuk, and the Bishop, much in need of priests, recalled Father Galtier with an appointment to Prairie du Chien."⁹¹ With this description we can visualize Keokuk's first church, a log structure, under the patronage of St. John the Evangelist.

To return to the question of Father Galtier's stay in Keokuk, the writer has at hand rather convincing evidence that Father Galtier was stationed there for a period longer than one month. With meticulous care Bishop Loras kept a Memorandum Book, which was in reality a daily ledger. The following data found in an abstract of that ledger by Father Kempker and up to this time unpublished are illuminating:

"Keokuk		St. John the Ev. Church
1844		
May 27	Paid to M. Galtier for Anderson house, etc.	\$100.
"	Paid previously to the same	\$ 50.
"	Paid lumber \$13.00: \$7	\$ 20.
"	Paid for building the church	\$200.
Aug. 3	Paid \$25: 11th \$25: M. Gildea \$20	\$ 70.
"	Paid by M. Galtier \$22.62. Support \$45 \$25.	\$ 92.62
"	Paid M. Gildea \$15.75 Paid \$50:	\$140.00
		\$672.62" ⁹²

In the above given account of the St. John the Evangelist Church, Keokuk, there is contained much pertinent information. Let us put down in tabular form just what is contained in it:

1. Previous to May 27, 1844, Bishop Loras had paid \$50.00 towards the acquiring of the Anderson property. The only reference to an Anderson family prior to 1845 is found in *Pen Pictures of Early Western Days* by Virginia Wilcox Ivins. "There were few advantages here aside from the district school. Meantime, I had attended one of these taught by Mrs. Morgan

⁹¹ Kempker, "Catholicity in Southeastern (Lee County) Iowa." *Records*, Vol. 2 (1886-1888), pp. 128-142.

⁹²An abstract of Bishop Loras's *Memorandum Book*, which is in reality a ledger, is in the writer's keeping. The individual items should total \$598.37.

Anderson, the wife of the Sheriff, on Main near Third. . . .” Probably the family referred to here is the one from whom the Second and Blondeau property was purchased in 1844.

2. On May 27, 1844, the sum of \$370.00 was paid to Father Galtier for the building of the St. John the Evangelist Church.

3. Again on August 3 and 11, 1844, more money was supplied by Bishop Loras for the enterprise.

4. A Mr. Gildea is mentioned. Father Kempker refers to him in this way: “At Keokuk this most exemplary priest [Father Galtier] engaged H. V. Gildea to build the church which he superintended in person.”

5. An item of August 3, 1844, states that Father Galtier expended for support \$70.00.

What conclusions are to be drawn from these plain statements? Three separate questions are involved.

First, was Father Galtier resident in Keokuk only during the month of August, 1844? To begin with, it should be remembered that on May 25, 1844, he left Saint Paul. On May 26 the sacrament of Baptism was conferred by him at Saint Raphael's, Dubuque. Especially significant is the fact that during the period following May 26 the same Baptismal Register fails to disclose Father Galtier's presence in Dubuque. Further, in a daily ledger kept by Bishop Loras a new account was started on May 27. It reads: “Keokuk St. John the Ev. Church, May 27, 1844, Paid to M. Galtier for Anderson house etc., \$100.00.” In view of these facts and their almost necessary implications the writer is convinced that Father Galtier was appointed to Keokuk on May 27, 1844, or thereabouts.

Another point about Galtier's stay: how long did he remain in Keokuk? The words of Fathers Kempker and Zaiser have already been cited. They locate him in Keokuk during the month of August, and, it will be remembered, *only* during that month. A very likely substantiation of his presence there in August comes from two other sources. Quoting Bishop Loras's ledger again, we find this apposite information: “August 3, 1844, Paid by M. Galtier \$22.62. Support \$45, \$25.” Obviously that record associates Father Galtier with Saint John the Evangelist Church during the month of August. There is yet one other item of evidence on this point. It comes from a volume of reminiscences, *Pen Pictures of Early Western Days*, by Virginia Wilcox Ivins, a Keokuk pioneer of 1840.

"The pioneer church of the village was of course Roman Catholic. A lot had been given on the corner of Blondeau and Second streets, upon which to build a church; meantime a house of two rooms was put up on the corner of the lot at the rear and here masses were said, one of the rooms being fitted up as a chapel, the priest living in the other. Weddings were also solemnized in the small chapel, one of which I attended, that of Elizabeth Hunt and Henry Louis [De Louis], my cousin and myself being the only witnesses. . . .

"The lots surrounding the Church were used as a cemetery. On one occasion twenty-five men were buried there who were killed by the explosion of the steamboat *Mechanic* in their endeavors to get off a large rock in the first chain of the rapids, from which circumstance it took the name of Mechanic rock.

"The priest was an elegant man, a native Frenchman, most zealous in his work, preaching in both French and English, and was building the church with his own hands. I well remember seeing him at work on the roof in hot July days with his long coat closely buttoned to his chin. My uncle and he were warm friends. He was a frequent visitor at our house and a most welcome guest."⁹³

Not a little light, then, is shed on the question of the length of Father Galtier's stay in Keokuk by the reminiscence just cited. Close inspection of it together with the context convinces the writer that the priest referred to is Father Galtier. In another volume by the same writer, *Yesterdays, Reminiscences of Long Ago*, the pioneer resident priest is described in this way: "He was a native Frenchman, a most devout man, very much beloved by his parishioners and greatly respected by all the community. After the church was completed, or at least within a very short time, he returned to France. . . ." The writer is again convinced that Father Galtier is the priest referred to. The details given by no means refer to either Father J. G. Alleman, O. P., or Father J. B. Villars. Recalling that three reliable sources have been indicated, locating Father Galtier in Keokuk during the month of August, 1844, and using one other pertinent source, a volume of reminiscences with its reference to "hot July days," the writer feels safe in accepting the tradition that Father Galtier was pastor of Saint John the Evangelist Church until some time in August, 1844.

Bringing together both ends of the discussion, we reach this conclusion: Father Galtier was in Keokuk from about May 27, 1844, until about August 3, 1844.

The second question, the length of time the Saint John the Evangelist Church was in process of construction, may be dis-

⁹³ Virginia Wilcox Ivins, *Pen Pictures of Early Western Days* (1905), pp. 27 and 28.

posed of more readily. Sometime before May 27, 1844, Bishop Loras had taken some steps to acquire the "Anderson house." From May 27 to August 3 Father Galtier, and from August 3 to August 11 H. V. Gildea, a Burlington contractor, were the instruments of Bishop Loras in furthering the enterprise. In view of payments made to Father Galtier on May 27 for "building the church," the writer feels there must have been a miscarriage of plans, which made it imperative that Bishop Loras hire an experienced builder two months after Father Galtier had received those funds to build the church. It may well be that the church was under actual construction only one month, as tradition has it. Bishop Loras's ledger does not indicate fully that August was the month. So far as funds for the enterprise were concerned, the transaction was a completed one on August 11, 1844.

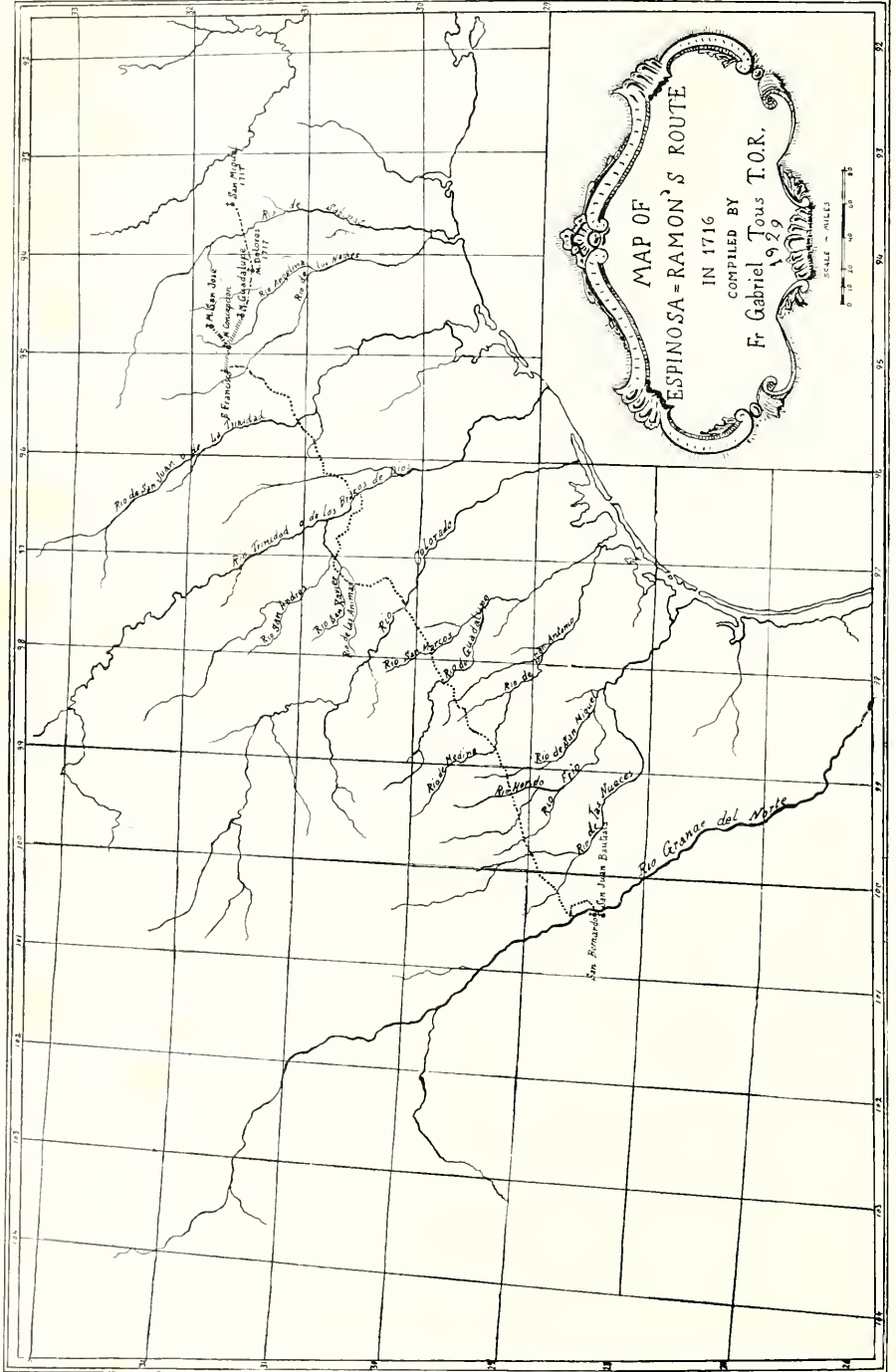
The third and last question can be readily answered: who supplied the funds for the building of Saint John the Evangelist Church in 1844? Bishop Loras's ledger removes all doubt about it. That ledger, already quoted, gives an itemized account of this transaction.

To conclude, Keokuk's first Catholic Church, Saint John the Evangelist, was built by Father Lucien Galtier and Mr. H. V. Gildea in the year 1844; from May 27 at least until August 11 Bishop Loras was the source of funds. Without doubt he in turn received the funds from the Society for the Propagation of the Faith.⁹⁴

CHARLES F. GRIFFITH

Davenport, Iowa

⁹⁴ *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, Vol. 3 (1840), p. 349. This is merely a typical instance. Other references in abundance might be given.



MAP OF
 ESPINOSA - RAMON'S ROUTE
 IN 1716
 COMPILED BY
 Fr Gabriel Tous T.O.R.
 1929

SCALE - MILES
 0 10 20 30 40 50

DOCUMENTS

RAMÓN EXPEDITION: ESPINOSA'S DIARY OF 1716

Translated by

REV. GABRIEL TOUS, T. O. R.

(Note by the translator)

The publication for the first time of a translation of the diary of Espinosa relating to his entry into Texas in 1716 has been an effort to present a faithful, exact, and literal rendition of the original, and that is what gives it a positive value to the historical scholar. Some Spanishisms will therefore be found in it and these have been permitted to remain so that the literal sense of the chronicle may be conserved.

The diary is not written with that phraseological pomp in which other works of Father Espinosa, principally his *Cronica*, abound. They were written in conformity with the age with many comparisons and digressions which are out of place and make the perusal of them wearisome and diffuse. Though the style of the diary of 1716 is sober and concise, it is not lacking in beautiful descriptions perhaps somewhat exaggerated and with poetic tints, as for instance the portrayals of the rivers Medina, San Antonio, and Guadalupe; nor is richness and minuteness of detail wanting as in the narration of the meeting of the Asinai or Texas Indians and the novel and very interesting ceremonial displayed at the reception of the members of the expedition. There is also a spice of good humor to season the diary. Incidents are related and observations made that did not escape the sharp eye and the ready wit of Father Espinosa.

Of the historic and geographic value of the diary there is no necessity to speak since this is obvious. Proper names of persons and of places, descriptions of land traversed, and dates give the historian and topographer invaluable details that are necessary for the geography and history of the first missions in Texas.

What may be regarded as somewhat far-fetched is the record of distances travelled day after day. If one considers the large train which they carried: beasts of burden, cattle and goats, soldiers and missionaries, extra men and women, the distances

indeed seem long. They travelled eight, nine, and even ten leagues in a single day through places where they had to open their own pathway.

The original manuscript of this document is in the *Archivo General y Publico de Mexico, Provincias Internas, Volume 181*. A transcript of the diary by Mr. Garcia was found among the documents pertaining to the life and memoirs of the Venerable Father Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus in the Garcia Latin-American Library at the University of Texas and from this copy the following translation has been made.

The translator wishes to acknowledge with thanks the valuable corrections suggested in this rendition by the Editor-in-chief of *Mid-America* and for other careful revisions made by Rev. Paul J. Foik, C. S. C., Ph. D., of St. Edward's University, Austin, Texas, and by Professor Carlos E. Castañeda, A. M., of the Latin-American Library, University of Texas.

THE DIARY

In the name of the Most Holy Trinity. The diary of the expedition from the Rio Grande del Norte to the Province of Texas, undertaken by order of His Excellency, the Duke of Linares, Viceroy of this New Spain, in concurrence with the two Colleges of the Propaganda Fide of Santa Cruz of Querétaro and Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas, compiled and written by Rev. Father Fray Isidro Felis de Espinosa. Domingo Ramón was captain of twenty-five soldiers and carried along also twenty-two other men with eight married women to attend to the beasts of burden.

We registered from the College of Querétaro Rev. Father Fray Isidro Felis de Espinosa, President, the Rev. Father Fray Francisco Hidalgo, the Apostolic Preachers; Rev. Fathers Fray Benito Sanchez, Fray Gabriel de Vergara and Fray Manuel Castellanos. The Rev. Father Fray Antonio Margil de Jesus of the College of Zacatecas became seriously ill at the Mission of San Juan Bautista on the Rio Grande. The Apostolic Preacher Rev. Father Fray Pedro de Santa Maria y Mendoza, the lay-brother Fray Francisco Xavier Cubillos and Fray Domingo de Vrioste with the habit of Donado remained with him. Don Luis de San Dionisio, (Louis of St. Denis), a Frenchman, was captain of the convoy, and two others of the same nationality enrolled with him.

A. D. 1716

April 25—Saturday. Feast of St. Mark the Evangelist. Mass was sung at the Mission of San Bernardo; rogation prayers proper to the day recited, and a procession formed. These were offered for the success of our journey. At the conclusion of the ceremonies all accompanied the priest who went to administer the Viaticum to our Rev. Father Margil. In the afternoon the Fathers Fray Francisco Hidalgo, Fray Benito Sanchez, Fray Gabriel Vergara and Fray Manuel Castellanos crossed to the other side of the Rio Grande. Commenting on the Gospel of the day *Designavit Dominus* (the Lord hath chosen) all gave thanks to His Divine Majesty for having chosen us for so glorious an enterprise. His command to His ministers in the persons of the Apostles: *Ite, ecce ego mitto vos*, "Go, behold I send you," gave new vigor to our souls. We travelled this day two leagues.

April 26—Sunday. Having remained to put in order the missions which were in my charge, I renewed my joy in the Gospel of the day, that of the Good Shepherd, which concludes with these words of Our Lord: "And other sheep have I, that are not of this fold; them also must I bring, and there will be but one fold and one shepherd." Understanding this almost to the letter of the Texas Gentiles, I set out that afternoon with the Apostolic Preachers, Fray Matias Sans de San Antonio and Fray Pedro de Sta. Maria y Mendoza. All who preceded us met us on the other side of the Rio del Norte with salute of firearms and general rejoicing. The river carried less water than at other times. A sermon was given with the intention of continuing it every third day. Some who had not yet complied with their Easter duty received Communion. At night, we sing, alternating in chorus the *Alabado* in metre. This we always do on leaving our camping ground. We are now two leagues to the northeast of our Missions according to observations made by an experienced Religious.

April 27—Monday. We set out from the bank of the Rio Grande towards the Encampment of Cuervo, three leagues to the northwest, but, finding little water we returned to the river going two leagues to the west, beyond what is called Diego Ramón.¹

This evening another sermon was preached; and just as it concluded, a hurricane swept down upon us, a tempest so violent that we raised our voices in supplication to the Mother of Sorrows and to the saints of our devotion. It uprooted the stakes

of the tents to which we were clinging, and broke with a lively rain which, however, did not last long. We travelled this day five leagues.

April 28—Tuesday. We went in search of water to the northeast over level ground with some sparse mesquite flats. On the way there were some pools of water, and an accident occurred. One of the Frenchmen fell from his horse but was not hurt. The Cuerva del Leon, which has plenty of water, was reached. Captain Louis of St. Denis returned to the presidio for an Indian. This day's travel was five leagues.

April 29—Wednesday. After the celebration of three Masses we left the Cueva, pursuing the direction of east-northeast on the lookout for the Carrizo. We passed a few low hills without trees, and crossed some sandy brooks and several marshes with mesquites and Indian fig trees, whose fruit was not yet ripe. By the pathway leading from the Cueva to the spring called Caramanchel were pools of water. The heat was so depressing that we stopped at some pools of rain-water. There we were haled by mosquitoes which, playing their little trumpets, entertained us both day and night to their heart's content. At daybreak some of our horses were missing, five Bozales Indians having taken them off to their settlement. The Indians were pursued; three of them apprehended and taken before the Captain who, recognizing their low state of mind, decided that their own fear and confusion served them for punishment. A sermon was given this evening. Five leagues had been travelled.

April 30—Thursday. Through some level clearings with pools of water, we set out for the Carrizo. A grove of mesquite trees and nopals was crossed. Having travelled three leagues we stopped at this side of the ponds of the Carrizo.

May 1—Friday. Masses having been said by most of the Religious, we proceeded eastward over level ground and came in sight of flowers and pasture in the fields. To celebrate the feast of the day, that of the apostles St. Philip and St. James, as well as to let the horses graze and refresh themselves, we stopped at the spring of water, having travelled two leagues.

May 2—Saturday. By northeast a quarter to the east we went through small woods or groves of mesquite trees and little plains surrounded by trees. We found a great deal of wild ma-

¹ The place "Diego Ramón" is called in the Ramón Diary "Paso de Diego Ramón."

joram; and passed a large rancheria, old and depopulated, and a dry arroyo, with holm-oak groves. Following the same course we came to a stream with pools of water. Around these were many oak trees. From this stream to the Nueces River, which was almost dry, having only puddles, there was an abundance of ash trees, walnut trees, mulberry trees and others of various kinds. Under the scorching sun we travelled this day seven leagues.

May 3—Sunday. The celebration of the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross detained us. Seven Masses were said at which some persons received Communion. In the evening the military salute was given and a cross which we had made and blessed was carried in procession. Placing it in the ground we reverently venerated it with hymns of the day and named the place the Encampment of the Holy Cross.

May 4—Monday. Leaving the Nueces River we proceeded east-northeast as far as the turtle pond. The land, which is for the greater part of the way level, is so rough and swampy that five men fell from their horses, some being thrown from their animals by the others. One of them had an apparently miraculous escape for he was caught underneath his horse. Although well covered with dust he came forth unhurt. We stopped at the pond mentioned, having travelled two leagues.

May 5—Tuesday. Having found good pasture and running water, we tarried at this place. Nothing important occurred except the marriage of the soldier whose banns had been previously published. This event was celebrated by the firing of guns, the Religious taking part. Some went fishing and an eel was among the fish caught.

May 6—Wednesday. Over low hills and plains with some mesquite trees on the knolls, we set out towards the east and east-northeast to find the River Frio. Flowers, praising their Creator, adorned the country. There were some pools of water on the way and among the oaks near the River Frio was a bubbling spring. As far as that place we had walked five leagues.

May 7—Thursday. We continued east-northeast by the base of a low hill as far as some large ponds of water. In the midst of the forest we found the passage of the River Frio which was dry; trees and grapevines loaded its banks; then we saw a great deal of brazilwood. Beyond the river, which is one in name only, we approached a flock of turkeys and caught two

of them. The expedition stopped at some creeks at our left and we named this place the Encampment of San Lorenzo. A sermon was given. Four leagues were travelled this day.

May 8—Friday. Feast of the Apparition of St. Michael. We went on between east and east-northeast over a league of level ground. There we found three rancherías of Indians of the tribe of the Paraguas. Farther on in the same direction we passed through glens of mesquite clumps, with pools of water. We intended to reach the Arroyo Hondo, so some of us went ahead and arrived there, but its barrenness obliged us to turn back until we met the others. Being informed of our disappointment, they stopped the beasts of burden at pools of rainwater. We named this place the Encampment of St. Michael. Those who went to the arroyo travelled eight leagues, the main body, four.

May 9—Saturday. We tarried here in order to select a suitable place. Each of us said Mass. The only things noteworthy were the excessive heat, the stillness of the waters which, had they not been calm, would have stopped us by their currents, and the arrival of a Mesquite Indian, who informed us of the great number of people living together on the Colorado River.

May 10—Sunday. This morning only three Masses were said. Then proceeding almost always towards east-northeast, we arrived at the Arroyo Hondo, where a very convenient passage was found. To reach this arroyo we had to come over a smaller stream between a forest of oaks and a thicket of brambles and briars. Having crossed the Arroyo Hondo, we came through a few clusters of mesquites to a woodland of oaks, poplars and other trees with two creeks of good water. This place was named the Encampment of St. Rita, and a cross of wood was erected there. On observing the sun, the latitude was found to be twenty-eight degrees and forty minutes. We walked four leagues.

May 11—Monday. After the celebration of two Masses we went on east-northeast through level ground, with clusters of oaks and pools of water. A few hills and plains with small stones or gravel were crossed. Then continuing our course as far as some large creeks we stopped, because of the intense heat of the sun, and because we had to carry a sick Religious. Only two leagues were travelled this day.

May 12—Tuesday. From the place aforementioned, we continued east-northeast through glens, partly level and partly hilly. Leaving on both sides many oak groves, we came to the pond called Pita. This pond is very spacious. In it fish and turtle are plentiful. They peeped above the water but not within reach of our hands. Among some clusters of oaks we found a grapevine, rather parched and dry, whose trunk measured almost a yard in circumference, a fact to which all the Religious and many other persons were witnesses. A sermon was given. This day only two leagues were covered.

May 13—Wednesday. After Masses were said, we set out through a forest of oaks and scattered mesquite clumps to find the River Medina, going a league to north-northeast. Then over rough ground with many groves of holm-oaks, gray oaks, and walnut trees we went two more leagues between northeast and east-northeast, turning to the north another league. Having crossed some level ground and groves of box-trees, we went right through a very spacious forest in the direction of east-northeast. Then making some deviations to the northeast we reached the Medina River. It was after midday when we arrived there tired out from the heat and very hungry. By the banks of this river were many poplar trees, blackberry bushes and grapevines on which we saw some green grapes. Not trifling was the trouble which we had this evening, when the horses were taken to the river to be bathed. They got into such depth, and so much confusion followed that eighty-two of them were drowned, and we were left bewildered. This and other depressing occurrences gave us reason to suspect that the Lord had given permission to the common enemy to dishearten our expedition. Therefore, not to give place to his wiles, we offered [the following morning] a Mass of thanksgiving that worse did not happen. At this Mass all the Religious received Communion, asking Our Lord to look on us with eyes of mercy. Ten leagues were travelled this day.

May 14—Thursday. We set out from the aforesaid river in the direction of east-northeast through hills and dales all covered with very green gramagrass. Some flint stones were found all along the way to the Arroyo de Leon, which is three leagues distant from the river. In this stream there are pools of water. From thence by northeast we entered the plain at the San Antonio River. At the end of the plain there is a small

forest of sparse mesquites, and some oaks. To it succeeds the water of the San Pedro; sufficient for a mission.² Along the bank of the latter, which has a thicket of all kinds of wood, and by an open path we arrived at the River San Antonio. This river is very desirable [for settlement] and favorable for its pleasantness, location, abundance of water, and multitude of fish. It is surrounded by very tall nopals, poplars, elms, grapevines, black mulberry trees, laurels, strawberry vines and genuine fan-palms. There is a great deal of flax and wild hemp, an abundance of maiden-hair fern and many medicinal herbs. Merely in that part of the density of its grove which we penetrated, seven streams of water meet. Those, together with others concealed by the brushwood, form at a little distance its copious waters, which are clear, crystal and sweet. In these are found catfish, sea fish, *piltonte*, *catan* and alligators. Undoubtedly there are also various other kinds of fish that are most savory. This place mellowed the dismal remembrance of the preceding one. Its luxuriance is enticing for the founding of missions and villages, for both its plains and its waters encourage settlement. We travelled this day seven leagues.

May 15—Friday. We stopped at this river where, on account of its being the Feast of the Patron of Madrid, St. Isidro Labrador (my patron saint) I sang High Mass, which was solemnized by the voices of my dear Father companions. There was no scarcity of good large fish for the feast, which was accompanied by the accustomed military salute. The enjoyment of this day compensated us somewhat for the hardships of the journey.

May 16—Saturday. We departed from the aforesaid river half a league to the northeast. Then proceeding east-northeast, through mesquite flats with but few trees, we traversed another league through a rich and flowery region, and half a league to the northeast, we stopped at the Arroyo Salado. In the bed of this stream we found wild vine stocks which appeared to be recently hand planted. Beyond the rivulet which is sometimes dry, to our right, a distance of two gun shots, is a spring of water, which could, according to the experienced, irrigate those lands, though it is not very large. We walked two leagues this day.

² Arroyo de Leon probably is the Leon Creek of today, west of the San Antonio. San Pedro Creek still flows through the town. In the Ramón Diary we read about San Pedro Springs.

May 17—Sunday. After three Masses were celebrated, we went through a forest of mesquite clumps, clusters of oaks, and small clearings surrounded by trees, a league to the northeast and a quarter to east-northeast as far as some high hills. Then two other leagues were covered to the east, and the day's journey ended to east-northeast near the edges of a creek. From here Captain Luis de San Dionisio (Louis of St. Denis) with Don Juan de Medar, Frenchmen, and a Quia Indian went ahead to look for the Tejas Indians who were to come to meet us. On observing the sun, the latitude was found to be twenty-nine degrees and thirty-eight minutes. We travelled five leagues.

May 18—Monday. We set out for the Guadalupe River through a dense forest of mesquite clumps, clusters of oaks and other trees going one league towards the north. Then about half a league to north-northeast we climbed some very high hills; continuing over level ground to northeast a quarter to east-northeast. About two leagues before the river, mesquite clumps and little hills with some ravines came in sight. These led up to a small stream, which issues from the point where the hills meet. Soon we reached the passage of Guadalupe which is made of gravel and is very wide. Groves of inexpressible beauty are found in this vicinity. We stopped at the other bank of the river in a little clearing surrounded by trees, and contiguous to said river. The waters of the Guadalupe are clear, crystal and so abundant that it seemed almost incredible to us that its source arose so near. Composing this river are three principal springs of water which, together with other smaller ones, unite as soon as they begin to flow. There the growth of the walnut trees competes with the poplars. All are crowned by the wild grapevines, which climb up their trunks. They gave promise already in their blossom for the good prospect of their fruit. The white and the black mulberry trees, whose leaves were more than eight inches in length, showed in their sprouts how sharp were the frosts. Willow trees beautified the region of this river with their luxuriant foliage and there was a great variety of plants. It makes a delightful grove for recreation, and the enjoyment of the melodious songs of different birds. Ticks molested us, attaching themselves to our skin. Seven leagues were travelled this day.³

May 19—Tuesday. We advanced by northeast a quarter to east-northeast through a large and dense woodland, nothing in-

ferior to the past, and entered a glen. Soon, at about half a league we came to a river having a good supply of water, which we named San Juan. In this river fish and alligators are numerous. It is not (as many hold) an arm of the River Guadalupe, although it is connected with it, for their sources are very far apart. We travelled only half a league.⁴

May 20—Wednesday. We went on between northeast and east-northeast with some deviations to the northeast, through sparse flats of mesquite trees, with hills in sight. After a distance of three leagues we came upon a copious spring, to our left, which we named San Bernardino. From here up to the San Marcos River many poplars increased the thickness of this woodland, which had some dry arroyos. By this riverside the foliage was so dense that the ground was never illuminated by the rays of the sun. The wood being so impenetrable we continued our course higher up, between east-northeast and northeast about two leagues, as far as the Arroyo of San Rafael, which had only pools, but those in abundance. We travelled this day nine leagues.

May 21—Thursday. Feast of the Ascension of Our Lord. Out of reverence for the sacredness of the day we refrained from travelling. Seven Masses were said; many persons receiving Communion. In the evening a sermon was given, which has been continued during the journey every third day. In the sky above us a phenomenon appeared in the form of a half-circle, white and dark gray. Its extremities touched the horizon at the points of north-northeast and south-southeast, the sky being all clear. After a good while it became dark and the omen gradually disappeared. Let the critic draw conclusions; I am just stating the incident. What is certain is that its figure resembled a comet having a head like one, and its tail or base being a star. Its train was dark and had the shape of a cypress tree. To some, it seemed a presage of joy; but to others a foreboding of sadness and melancholy.

May 22—Friday. In the direction of northeast we came to a little spring of water which, years ago, I named San Isidro. From thence we advanced to the hills and found some arroyos with pools of water. These led on to the Arroyo of the Garra-

³ The Guadalupe River here described seems to be the Comal River and the springs are those at New Braunfels.

⁴ San Juan River one-half league from the Guadalupe in this instance is the present Guadalupe.

patas (ticks) which were this time more merciful. On the way at the distance we sighted holm-oak groves and five brooks. We travelled this day eight leagues.

May 23—Saturday. By the way of north-northeast, three shots of an arquebus distant, we came upon an arroyo which connects with that of the Garrapatas. From here we went half a quarter to the east, and the remainder by north-northeast up to the River Espiritu Santo or Colorado (which is all one and the same river). The way is level with some low hills, though a league before the river there are many oak trees and grapevines with shady spots at intervals. On coming to the one nearest to the river, and having inspected the ford, we decided to return as far as some tall walnut trees where we stopped. Clouds were gathering in the north, threatening rain, but from it the Lord delivered us. This day's journey was three leagues.

May 24—Sunday. Recommending first in seven Masses our good passage to the Saints of each one's particular devotion, we proceeded to cross the river. Although there were some fears nothing serious happened. It took until midday to transport the cargoes. Both banks of the river are supplied with enormous trees, grapevines, hemp and a species of herb called *ipasote*. An abundance of fish of which we partook is found in its waters. We had to cross to a highland shaded by trees.

May 25—Monday. Until almost noon was spent in putting the goats across, and not a head was lost. The river was very much reduced contrary to what we had anticipated from the preceding rain. On observing the sun, the latitude was found to be thirty degrees and some minutes.

May 26—Tuesday. The expedition did not set out because the Alferes took three soldiers with him to select a suitable place and to look for Indians. They killed a bison, part of which was brought to the encampment.

May 27—Wednesday. When three Masses were said we passed by a hill of oaks a league to the northeast; then two more leagues northeast a quarter to the east over very open ground, though it was well choked with weeds. In order to arrive at the place intended, not knowing any other way, we crossed two leagues to the south-southeast as far as some pools which were called the Cibolo. The company travelled six leagues.

May 28—Thursday. With a Payaya Indian guiding us we returned the two misdirected leagues, by way of the north-north-west and north, one to each direction. Then through ground the greater part flat, we travelled on four leagues to a copious stream, which we named Arroyo de las Benditas Animas on account of having recommended to the Holy Souls our good guidance.⁵ The banks of this stream are studded with willow trees. According to the sun it was recognized that the latitude was thirty degrees and forty minutes. Here three bisons were killed, whose meat fully satisfied our appetites. Some, not accustomed to this meat, indulged to excess, as may be supposed from the complaints made later of their stomachs. We journeyed this day six leagues.

May 29—Friday. Taking advantage of a delay we said seven Masses. In the meantime a place ahead was chosen; the meat got dry; and other fresh food was provided.

May 30—Saturday. We proceeded by way of north-north-east three leagues. Then seeing some smoke and going to investigate the cause of it, we met six Yeripiamos and Mixcales Indians; two of whom arrived in the evening, one a convert of the Mission of San Juan Bautista of the Rio del Norte. The other four set out to notify their captain of our coming. We stopped at some ponds, among a great deal of frondage to which, because of its having the shape of the cells of a bee-hive we gave the name of San Pedro de Alcantara. This afternoon, we sang our Vespers and that part of Matins and Lauds which we are accustomed to sing in our convents. The expedition travelled three leagues.

May 31—Sunday. Because the place was unsuitable we went on towards the northeast to a freshet of rain water, but with keen regret since this was the solemn Feast of Pentecost. There was a very heavy rain this evening and it continued most of the night. All the Religious sang the *Veni Creator*. Three leagues were travelled.

June 1—Monday. The first of June dawned raining. With a great deal of difficulty four Masses were celebrated, in which we besought Our Lord to grant us favorable weather, and the day cleared about nine o'clock. The place having quagmires and being unsanitary we proceeded after midday two leagues northeast as far as a large arroyo close to a good sized river,

⁵ Arroyo de las Animas is the present Brushy Creek.

which we named San Francisco Xavier.⁶ Like the preceding rivers it is surrounded by woodland and abounds with fish. We travelled this day two leagues.

June 2—Tuesday. In order to give place to the celebration of Pentecost, this being but the third day of the octave, solemn Mass and the *Veni Creator* were sung, and the military salute given, some of the company receiving Communion.

June 3—Wednesday. We went on between east and east-southeast through a forest of sparse mesquite clumps, oak trees and grapevines, and very delightful glens, until we crossed a second time the Arroyo of the Animas. The bank at that place was very precipitous; so much so that some of the packs tumbled into the water. Coming out from the thick woodland we stopped in a shady plain near by. Two of our servants, having gone to look for bisons, lost their way in the denseness of the forest. The soldiers and three Indian friends went in search of them but did not find them. The place was named the Encampment of Santo Domingo; four leagues were travelled.

June 4—Thursday. Late Wednesday night we received notice of the approach of Don Luis de San Dionisio with some Indians and we sent word to him so that he could overtake us. Meanwhile the Community began a novena to St. Anthony of Padua and St. Francis Xavier, and a search was made for the lost ones. Don Luis arrived in the evening, and learning of the hardships he underwent, we gave thanks to God that we had not travelled through the forest where he came, because our way was the most clear.

June 5—Friday. Seven Masses were celebrated for the return of the lost ones. Not expecting, however, that they would appear miraculously sixteen Indian friends went out with the soldiers to search for them. They called them aloud, fired shots, and even made some smoke, but did not have the consolation of finding them. The ticks performed their duties.

June 6—Saturday. We went on in the direction of northeast about two leagues through a forest of oak trees and grapevines and some dried up arroyos. Following close upon this was another forest, so dense that there were not enough hatchets and knives to open a passage and consequently the packs suffered considerable damage. By way of south-southeast we came, at

⁶ Rio de S. Francisco Xavier is now known as San Gabriel River in Milam County.

half past two in the afternoon, to a little shady place having a small spring of water, which we called the Encampment of Nuestra Sonora de la Soledad. We travelled, but with great difficulty, five leagues.

June 7—Sunday. The expedition stopped at this site while a passage was being cleared for the following day. Seven Masses were said. Although some bisons were seen not one of them was caught.

June 8—Monday. Having found a way, we went on between east and east-southeast, through an adjoining plain surrounded by trees, and entered a sparse forest of oaks and some walnut trees. We came to two springs of water, which we called San Diego, where wild grapes larger than the muscatel grew in abundance. Having crossed through another forest we stopped at a very large lake which we named San Juan, and in which were many alligators. On our way through this forest we passed some clear plains with clusters of poplars. Four leagues were covered.

June 9—Tuesday. After Mass we advanced, between the points of south and southeast through an open forest where we found two springs of water. Travelling a league more or less, we reached a plain, and then crossed to the forest ahead where we stopped at some springs of water, which we called Santa Maria de Buenavista, because of the beautiful landscape. Here we encamped since a soldier had been lost in the forest pursuing a saddled horse that was escaping. This day three leagues were travelled.

June 10—Wednesday. We were detained for the aforesaid reason. Some of the company went to look for the soldier; and some Indians of the tribes Yeripiano, Ticmameraz, Mesquites and one of the Asinai nation, the common Teja, arrived. All of them lived in a village seven leagues distant. This evening we sang our Vespers and Matins, and a sermon was preached, exhorting all to the spiritual celebration of Corpus Christi the following day.

June 11—Thursday. Feast of Corpus Christi. Six low Masses having been said, I sang the last, which was the seventh. This was celebrated with all the pomp which the wilderness permitted; the usual military salute given, many received Communion. The lost soldier came and the saddled horse was found.

New Indians came to see us; and on that site a cross of wood was erected.

June 12—Friday. Going on through a not very dense forest of oak trees and grapevines, and passing a spring of water and some shady places, we came to the plain which runs towards the east and directed our steps to two small running streams. At the bank of one we met Indians of the tribes already mentioned who conducted us to their village. There they had made a hut for us, of branches of trees and very spacious, and there too, all the people who came, about 500 persons of all ages, kissed our hand. We travelled this day seven leagues.

June 13—Saturday. Feast of St. Anthony of Padua. We tarried here because the Indians told us it was necessary to take some rest on the way. We sang the Mass for the success of our journey, and the usual military salute was given. The Indians were very good-natured. Among them were found the Pamayas, some Payayas and Cantonaes, some of the Mixcal and Xarame tribes with other of the Sijames. The dogs which they had, jumped in among the goats to amuse themselves with the kids. The Indians satiated themselves with the food that they exchanged, and what they had received gratis.

June 14—Sunday. We proceeded northward through half a league of level ground. In about another half a league, those of us who were going ahead were obliged to turn back because we had come to a very swollen arroyo. This evening the goats were put across, with the help of the Indians. Only one league was travelled.

June 15—Monday. We crossed the said arroyo, now become a river by reason of its abundant waters, which the Indians say is near to the river of San Xavier and the Arroyo of the Animas. The packs were carried across, but a laden mule was lost which, however, the Indians afterwards brought back. About a league from thence we came to the River of the Trinidad;⁷ which we recognized by the signs that General Alonso de Leon left to us in his diary, though he entered much further down, and came by a different route. This river too was swollen, and its banks very miry. We crossed partly undressed on horseback and conveyed the packs in leathern rafts, at which the Indians assisted. We stopped at the other bank. In the evening our two lost ones returned very crestfallen, but thank God, in good health. They related all their strange experiences, and told of the supply of

meat with which the Lord provided them. Though reprehended they were well received. We travelled this day a league and a half.

June 16—Tuesday. We set out towards the northeast a quarter to east-northeast with some deviations to the east and north. Crossing through an open forest of oaks, we came upon an abandoned rancheria or village in a small plain surrounded by trees, and inhabited only by fleas which, in the shade of the trees, stung us; and the ticks got into our skin. Six bisons were killed, and two small ones were brought to the camp. Four leagues were travelled.

June 17—Wednesday. We, [the priests] occupied ourselves each one by saying Mass while some searched for a pack mule which had escaped. A new supply of meat was brought to the encampment. The beast was found, as well as all the pack that he had previously lost.

June 18—Thursday. We went on by north-northeast through plains and forests of scattered oaks; then in the same direction, through hills and dales, having dry arroyos and trees on their margins, until we came to a small forest of walnut trees. Here on the way we met three Tejas Indians who were out hunting for bisons, and about noon two women also came and more Indians, about a dozen. They made peculiar demonstrations of pleasure. Having travelled five leagues, we stopped past a running arroyo, which we named Corpus Christi, because it was the octave of the feast.

June 19—Friday. Proceeding from this place northeast a quarter to east-northeast by an open pathway and a forest of scattered oaks we came to a running arroyo with many trees, and called it San Buenaventura. Having crossed a league of forest we stopped near a lake close by a shady plain which we named Santa Ana. This day's journey was four leagues.

June 20—Saturday. We advanced between east-northeast a quarter to the east through sparse forests of oaks for about two leagues, and two others over a plain. On arriving at the opposite border, a Teja Indian, one of those whom we had previously encountered, came forth to meet us and conducted us to his ranch, where he treated us to watermelons and *elotes*, green ears of corn. Afterwards more than twenty members of the

⁷ River of the Trinidad. This is the Brazos.

Tejas tribe came, with much mirth and rejoicing. We travelled this day five leagues.

June 21—Sunday. We set out to find the pathway which we had left, and met on the way a flock of young turkeys, of which we provided ourselves for our midday meal. Then continuing northeast a league through a thin forest, and over level ground towards east-northeast, we came to a spring of water which we named Santa Clara. Captain Francis went ahead to interview the Governor of the Tejas and to prepare him for our coming. Others went to examine the place so as to make sure of a watering place for the following day. Having been notified that some water was near we stopped, as five leagues had been travelled.

June 22—Monday. We proceeded east-northeast over hills and plains; and after travelling two leagues came to a large lake which we named San Cristobal, an arroyo close by was termed San Fernando, and a neighboring valley was called Linares. Afterwards we came to another lake not very far distant and to this we gave the name of San Luis Obispo, and to an adjacent arroyo that of Santa Rosa de Viterbo. Here we beheld many high hills; and after making several deviations we crossed a plain where we met and befriended four families of Tejas Indians who were hunting bisons. Having entered an open forest, all on rough ground, we stopped past midday at a small lake, where we rested a little and took some refreshment. Continuing our journey, we arrived at a very rapid river whose banks are deep and almost covered with trees. In scorching heat we travelled this day ten leagues.

June 23—Tuesday. While some went to repair the pass of the river and to make a bridge over a muddy stream, we said five Masses. Soon afterwards all crossed the river, which we named San Juan Bautista, because this was the eve of his feast. Then we walked about half a league through a thin forest of oaks in the direction of east-northeast.⁸ We crossed the muddy stream by means of the bridge and the expedition stopped at its margin. This river of San Juan, though sometimes mistaken for that of the Trinidad, is not the same by this route which we have just entered, although after one day's journey the two unite. That is the reason why many, who do not observe the directions by which they enter or leave the Tejas, cannot dis-

⁸ River San Juan Bautista. This is the Trinity River.

tinguish the one from the other. The expedition walked this day half a league.

June 24—Wednesday. The morning was passed in celebrating with high Mass and six low Masses the feast of the Holy Precursor. Some received Communion. In the evening the soldiers amused themselves by running races and betting on their horses.

June 25—Thursday. The soldiers went with some Indians to take the goats across the river. The son of our captain and a Teja Indian arrived, bringing us news of Don Luis, and how he was engaged in assembling the Asinai Indians, who were still unaware of our arrival. In order to give him sufficient time [for his task] we did not travel this day.

June 26—Friday. After three Masses were celebrated we went on towards the northeast through a forest of scattered pines, walnut trees, common oaks, evergreen oaks, and grapevines with grapes larger than those already mentioned. We crossed two arroyos with water; and at one which we named Santa Efigenia (sic) we stopped early so as to give the Indians time to approach. Four leagues were travelled.

June 27—Saturday. We all celebrated Mass. News was brought of the approach of Don Luis with the Indians, and we got ready to receive them. About eight o'clock in the morning thirty-four Indians arrived, five of them being leaders. They came in file behind Don Luis, and were received in the following manner: We arranged the soldiers in two files placing our Captain in the center with the Religious, and in this order we went to greet and embrace them, our hearts overflowing with joy. In order to enter befittingly, the Indians left their horses behind, their bows and arrows and the firearms that some brought they left in the hands of other Indians who ministered to them as servants. There was a general salute on our part, and in the meantime we went to the place prepared for the reception, which was a hut of boughs of trees, carpeted with blankets; the pack-saddles serving as stools. There, all seated according to rank, a page of the Tejas drew out a pipe full of tobacco which they cultivate on their lands. The pipe was very much ornamented by white feathers—a sign of peace among them. He lighted the pipe and made each of us take a puff of smoke. We returned the compliment with the same ceremony and served chocolate

to them. The function terminated with a very serious discourse by an Indian chief, in which he gave us to understand the pleasure with which all desired to receive us in their midst, as Don Luis de San Dionisio, (Louis of St. Denis) who understands and speaks much of their language, made known to us. This day was most pleasing to us, holding out, as it did, such great prospects of attaining our end and achieving the purpose so much desired. That night the Indians gave a salute and feasted on an ox which the chief served them at their pleasure.

June 28—Sunday. We went on, accompanied by many of the Indians, towards the northeast with some deviations to both sides, through a forest of scattered pines, walnut trees, grapevines, common oaks and evergreen oaks among which are four *arroyuelos*. Having travelled nine leagues we came to a large plain surrounded by trees, in whose center are two large lakes and nearby was a copious arroyo where we stopped. That evening, Indians numbering ninety-six, who had not yet visited us came in the following manner: They assembled at a place near the camp and arranged themselves into three files. The middle one was led by Don Louis, followed by all the chiefs and leaders. The two side lines were composed of the remainder of the people who accompanied them. Besides these, the Indians who on the preceding day had come to meet us, were advancing at a short distance with their firearms in order to give a salute. We, on our part, reciprocated, the Captain bearing a standard on which were painted the images of Christ Crucified and of Our Lady of Guadalupe. We, the Religious, took our places on both sides in a wing, with the soldiers in two files, and thus advanced towards them. Our Captain delivered the standard into my hands, and kneeling venerated and kissed the Holy Images and we embraced each other. All the others did likewise. When this ceremony ended, we went in procession singing the *Te Deum Laudamus*, to which the firearms made response. Upon arriving at the encampment all knelt for the conclusion of the hymn. Then we seated ourselves with the Indians on the carpets of the preceding day. The Indians conversed among themselves for a little while, and each chief bringing a handful of ground tobacco they mixed it together to show the unity of their wills, then handed it to the Captain. Afterwards they brought their gifts of ears of corn, watermelons, tomales and cooked beans with corn and nuts. To them were distributed, in the name of His

Majesty, the blankets, sombreros, tobacco and flannel for undergarments. And that night they demonstrated their joy with dances.

June 29—Monday. High Mass was celebrated in honor of St. Peter (in whose honor we gave this name to the place). It was attended by a multitude of Indians. Near midday others came with eight leaders, and with them were carried out the same ceremonies as with those of the preceding day in their reception, except that instead of the *Te Deum* the *Tota Pulchra*, etc., was sung. These brought their pipe of brass adorned with many feathers. Clothing was distributed to them as to the others, and they also celebrated their coming with dances.

June 30—Tuesday. Three Masses were said for the success of their conversion, and again we heard the echo of the *Ecce, ego mitto vos* from the first words of the Gospel of the Commemoration of St. Paul. Then we proceeded northeast through an open forest until we came to a plain which seemed to our Captain to be a suitable place, for the time being, to establish his presidio, which was at the margin of a very large lake and not far from a medium sized river. The Religious went with the Captain and some Indians to choose a place for the first mission, and finding one that seemed the best for our purposes we returned to the encampment, having on the way appeased our hunger with cooked Indian corn, with nuts and other fruits of the earth, which the Indians gave us. The expedition travelled this day three leagues.

July 1—Wednesday. The Indians, who were still together, remained to construct a dwelling house for the Captain. It was begun this day, as well as the transferring of the implements and other things pertaining to the four missions.

July 2—Thursday. The house was covered with hay. Meanwhile each of the priests said Mass, and then we wrote some of the language of the Asinai. The Indians reasoned and computed and apportioned among themselves the four prospective missions, Don Luis serving as interpreter. Having recourse to a learned Indian woman of this tribe, reared in Coahuila, we gave them to understand, as best we could, the object of our coming; and from that time forth they advised us that they could not assemble until they had gathered their harvest.

July 3—Friday. All the Religious with the Captain came to a spring of water which we had previously found, and soon

the Indians began to construct the house for the first mission. Meanwhile we passed the day in a hut of branches of trees; one league having been travelled.

July 4—Saturday. All the Religious said Mass. The house was finished although poorly [constructed] like a field shanty. We moved to it and distributed what appertained to each mission.

July 5—Sunday. The captain named *Alcaldes*, *Regidores*, and an *Alguacil*, and then came to give me, as President, possession of the mission in the name of His Majesty, (may God protect him) at the spring of water with the usual ceremonies. I appointed for Minister of the first mission, named "Nuestro Padre San Francisco de los Tejas," the Reverend Father Fray Francisco Hidalgo, who for so many years solicited this conversion. The Apostolic Preacher, Father Manuel Castellano, was appointed his companion and to him I entrusted the spiritual care of the assistants at the presidio. The greater part of the clothing and other things which we brought for the Indians was distributed. This day our Captain, with the Apostolic Preachers, Fathers Fray Matias Sans de San Antonio and Fray Pedro de Santa Maria y Mendoza went in search of the place occupied by the Nacocdochi in order to establish their first mission on behalf of the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe of Zacatecas.

July 6—Monday. Towards northeast a quarter to east-northeast through an open forest, we crossed a stream of water which runs to the first mission.⁹ A plain of more than two leagues followed. We crossed three small streams and came to the first wigwam of Hinai Indians where we passed the intense heat of the day and took some ears of green corn for refreshment. After midday we went eastward through a sparse forest, and having travelled about two more leagues, we came to an arroyo with plenty of water. Further on there were poplars, walnut trees and oaks, and in the valleys many pines. Approaching other ranches of the Hinai, we met our Captain with the Fathers from Guadalupe of Zacatecas, who had not yet gone ahead. That evening we looked for a site for the Conception Mission, which we found, although it has a great deal of woodland. We travelled eight leagues this day.

July 7—Tuesday. I went with the Captain as far as two bubbling springs of water which do not seem large enough to

supply the people of this village. The Captain gave me possession in the name of His Majesty as is customary. He then, with the Fathers of Zacatecas went to establish their mission. Meanwhile my two companions and I changed our belongings to the spring of water. In this task and in laying plans we spent most of the day.

July 8—Wednesday. The erection of the straw house was begun, though rather late, and the Father Fray Benito Sanchez went to the rancheria of the Nasoni, where he was appointed to establish the third mission on behalf of the College of Querétaro.

July 9—Thursday. Captain Francis Don Luis de San Dionisio and I went to the rancheria of the Nasoni, where we arrived after midday. It is located seven leagues northeast from the Conception Mission. There are on the way many ranches of Indians and arroyos of water with good places for settling. Father Fray Benito and I went out to make a survey, and our Captain, who this day gave possession of the Mission of Our Lady of Guadalupe to the Fathers of Zacatecas, came from the Nacadochi.

July 10—Friday. The Captain gave me possession of the Mission of San Jose, among the Nasoni and Nacono Indians, near a good-sized arroyo which runs to the north. I appointed as their Minister the Apostolic Preacher, Father Benito Sanchez. Thus three Missions were founded, which number about three thousand souls according to what we have seen. I returned to the Mission of the Conception which I attend.

NOTE: The particular traits which we have observed in this people are their loyalty to their lands and the skill with which they construct their houses. These have high beds for everyone, and compartments of wood where large baskets of nuts and beans are stored for the whole year. They are very charitable among themselves and assist one another in their necessities.

They recognize a superior head, who directs them when they have to work, and there is one who gives them orders, and punishes them harshly when they do not go to work or if they are lazy. They have all the earthenware that is necessary for their service, and curious seats of wood for those who come to their houses. From what we have observed it will require solicitude and labor to eradicate a number of abuses to which they are addicted, since they hardly ever take a step that is not

⁹ Probably the writer refers to the Neches River or to the San Pedro.

directed by some particular abuse. Time will reveal minutely the good qualities as well as the evil propensities of this people, to whom, may God Our Lord, through the inestimable price of His Blood and the supplications of His most pure Mother, open the eyes of their understanding to know Him and love Him, and with their whole heart serve Him, as the least of the missionaries desires.

ISIDRO FELIS DE ESPINOSA (Rubric)

July 30th of the year 1716.

NEWS AND COMMENTS

Subscribers and readers of MID-AMERICA will welcome the announcement that it has been selected for indexing in *The Catholic Periodical Index* beginning March, 1930. *The Catholic Periodical Index* is an author and subject index to the contents of more than forty leading Catholic periodicals in the field of literature, education, science, philosophy, theology, missions, religion, history, liturgy, and current events. This new indexing service is being taken by libraries of the colleges, universities, seminaries, and high schools, as well as public libraries in all parts of the United States and abroad.

The uses of this index are many and varied. Aside from constant use by research workers, it is conspicuously useful in enabling educators to keep abreast of all current literature upon subjects in which they may be most interested.

The arrangement is both unique and simple. It is issued quarterly as a paper bound magazine. Each issue indexes current magazine material by subject and author, citing the exact publication, issue and page upon which the article may be found. The index cumulates at the end of the year in a December number which replaces all previous issues. Every third year a large cumulation will appear containing an index for the three year period in one alphabet.

Thus, readers of MID-AMERICA may easily locate material that has appeared therein. Numerous cross-references and sub-headings simplify its use. This is the first time such indexing service has been available for Catholic periodical readers. Its appearance will undoubtedly lead to a much greater use of this rich field of information on Catholic thought and practice.

The Catholic Periodical Index is similar in form to the "Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature," which is in most public libraries. With this new indexing service the readers of MID-AMERICA will find additional reason for preserving and binding completed volumes of our publications.

The Catholic Periodical Index is issued by the Library Section of the National Catholic Education Association and it will be published by the H. W. Wilson Company of New York City. Our subscribers may obtain information about *The Catholic Periodical Index* by addressing the editor, F. E. Fitzgerald, Librarian of St. Thomas College, Scranton, Penn.

Announcement is made by the Catholic Guild, Catholic Press Association Guild of Writers, that it is "authorizing and sponsoring preparation of a Memorial Biography of Col. Thomas J. V. Owen, the first chief executive of Chicago, a distinguished citizen of early Chicago, who was buried with the rites of the Catholic Church on October 17, 1835, by Rev. Irenaeus M. St. Cyr, first pastor of St. Mary's congregation." Col. Owen, a native Kentuckian, was elected a member of the first board of trustees of the town of Chicago and was later chosen by the board its first president, an office corresponding to that of mayor. He was also U. S. Indian Agent at Chicago and one of the three federal commissioners who negotiated the treaty of September 26, 1833, by which the Potawatomi ceded to the government their last remaining lands in the Chicago region. In a letter of April 4, 1833, now preserved in the St. Louis archdiocesan archives Owen informed a correspondent that "at the petition of the principal chiefs of the Potawatomi Tribe of Indians to the President of the United States permission was given them to donate to the Roman Catholic Church four sections of land on the Des Plaines or Chicago River near the town of Chicago for the purpose of establishing a seminary of learning." For some unknown reason this intended grant was never embodied in the treaty of 1833 though Governor Porter of Michigan, one of the Commissioners, assured Father Badin that the Indians' petition would meet with success. As late as October, 1834, Bishop Reze of Detroit was seeking information as to the fate of the four sections as correspondence of his in the files of the Indian Office in Washington reveals. The unpublished Journal of the treaty of 1833 preserved in the same files may throw light upon the question.

A recent proclamation from President Hoover announces the period April 10 - December 29 of the current year as "the Covered Wagon Centennial," a passage from the same reading: "On April 10, 1830 the first wagon train left St. Louis for Oregon pioneering the way for the thousands of men and women who settled the Pacific states." As a matter of fact this historic caravan, which was a traders' expedition and not an emigrant party, started west, not for Oregon but for a trading rendezvous on the eastern slope of the Rockies near the famous South Pass; but it travelled over the track of what subsequently became

known as the Oregon Trail and its wagons were the first to follow that route towards the lands of the setting sun. The caravan, besides a personnel of eighty-one men all mounted on mules, counted ten wagons drawn by five mules each and two dearborns each drawn by a mule. Missouri's famous transport animal of a vanished day identified himself thus early with the conquest of the West. The expedition was sent out by the St. Louis fur-trading firm of Smith, Jackson, and Sublette, all names of note in the magic story of frontier, and the wagons on their return were to carry back a rich assortment of peltries for distribution to the markets of the world. Incidentally it may be noted that when the silk tile displaced the beaver hat profits in the fur trade fell by a large margin. It is said that John Jacob Astor realizing the approaching change in fashion was moved by the circumstance to sell out his vast interest in the fur business. But as long as the industrious little animal furnished material for a popular style of male head gear, the fur trade continued to be a gainful occupation. The lines of Oliver Wendell Holmes occur:

"Have a good hat; the secret of your looks
Lives with the beaver in Canadian brooks."

No historical commemoration could grip the imagination with more vivid appeal than the one in which the nation at large is now called upon by its Chief Executive to participate in. The Oregon Trail spells the most fascinating phase in our national development, for it spells the story of the frontier, and the frontier is perhaps the most significant single factor in the development of these United States. Professor Henry Jackson Turner explained some decades back in what subsequently became a classic pronouncement how "the advancing frontier" was the open sesame to the secrets of American history, how all the major phenomena of our national experience are in some or other way to be referred to the great westward thrust of population and settlement. One may contend, as students begin now to contend, that the validity of the Turner hypothesis is more apparent than real; but the fact remains that, apart from its significance as a key to American history, interest in the frontier is perennial. "The fascination of the frontier," wrote Emerson Hough "is and ever has been an undying thing. Adventure is the meat of the strong men who have built the world

for those more timid. Adventure and the frontier are one and inseparable."

No doubt the year will see a new interest on the part of readers, students and the public generally in the Oregon Trail. Adventure, romance, pathos, tragedy as also, it must be said, less appealing things enter into its story; but it stands as no other road in history, not even the classic Appian Way, as an organic factor in the building up of a great nation. Through two eventful decades the hardy emigrant stock that was to make of the Pacific northwest and California new fields of conquest for the White Man's civilization moved westward over what to them must have seemed its interminable reaches. Even the physical lay-out of the Trail, its meanderings as expressed in terms of present-day geography, make instant appeal to the historical imagination. Let us leave the subject with this picture of it traced by the skilful pen of Pierre-Jean De Smet, the well known Jesuit missionary-traveller of the frontier period, who had a personal acquaintance with the Trail, having traversed it more than once:

"The 2nd of September, 1851, we found ourselves on the great road to Oregon over which like successive ocean surges the caravans composed of thousands of emigrants from every country and clime have passed during these latter years to reach the rich gold mines of California or to take possession of the new lands in the fertile plains and valleys of Utah and Oregon. These intrepid pioneers of civilization have formed the broadest, the longest and the most beautiful road in the whole world—from the United States to the Pacific Ocean. On the skirts of this magnificent highway there is an abundance of grass for supplying the cattle and animals appertaining to the caravans which are incessantly travelling on it from early Spring to Autumn every succeeding year.

Our Indian companions who had never seen but the narrow hunting paths by which they transport themselves and their lodges were filled with admiration on seeing this noble highway which is as smooth as the barn floor swept by the winds and not a blade of grass can shoot on it on account of the constant passing. They style the route—the great medicine road of the Whites. . . . How wonderful will be the accounts given of the great medicine road by our unsophisticated Indians when they go back to their villages and sit in the midst of an admiring circle of relations."

Under the caption "New American Saints" the *New York Times* in its issue of January 19, 1930, published the following editorial apropos of the canonization, probably to take place in the current year, of the group of Jesuits known as "the North American Martyrs." They already bear the title "Blessed," having been so declared by His Holiness Pius XI on June 21, 1925.

It is announced that a number of early Catholic missionaries among the Indians are soon to be canonized. BREBEUF, the "Ajax of the missions," stands out among them because of his giant frame, a man of noble birth, of vigorous passions tamed by religion. He has been pictured in the "Relations" toiling at the paddle in a canoe with a lone Indian, or reading his breviary by moonlight or the fire on a bare rock by some savage cataract or in a damp nook of the forest, or teaching the Huron children to chant and repeat the commandments. The story of his death at the hands of the Iroquois is one of the most tragic. When he continued to speak words of encouragement to his Huron converts, his lower lip was cut away by the Iroquois and a hot iron thrust down his throat. As he was still defiant he was led to where he might see LALAMENT, his companions, clothed in bark, set on fire. As he still did not flinch, strips were cut from his limbs, his head was scalped, his heart opened and his blood was drunk by those who crowded about, thinking that they would thus imbibe something of his courage. "Never," said PARKMAN, "had the mailed barons of BREBEUF's line confronted a fate so appalling with so prodigious a constancy."

LALAMENT, who was physically weak from childhood and unequal to a display of fortitude like that of his Superior, yet endured a "living martyrdom" for years and torture for seventeen hours before he was killed; CHABANEL, once a Professor of Rhetoric in France; GARNIER, a man of finest nature, of delicate mold, who was yet so active that even the Indians could not surpass him in running, and of most valiant spirit; LALANDE, companion of ISAAC JOGUES; GOUPIL—these and many others of their companions in faith and peril gave martyrs' blood as seed to the soil of the New World. And now three centuries later they who suffered torture and death *ad majorem Dei gloriam* in the rough ways of the savage wilderness have been exalted by man.

It will be especially gratifying to those attached to this State that Father JOGUES' name is in the immortal group. He was once granted a special dispensation by Pope URBAN VIII which permitted him, though maimed and deformed by "the teeth and knives of the Iroquois," to say mass once more; and though he might have remained in France after his escape from their fury, he returned to the Mohawk Valley to continue his mission till his "path was diverted to heaven" and his head displayed from the palisades of a Mohawk town. It has been often suggested that the lake which bears the name of an English King (George) would more properly bear his name, though now it would have to be Lake St. Jogues.

Some day it is hoped by those who have followed with historical interest the westward course of those of whom the historian BANCROFT said "not a cape was turned, not a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way," that JACQUES MARQUETTE of Laon will find his way into that sainted company.

BOOK REVIEWS

From Quebec to New Orleans: the Story of the French in America. By J. H. Schlarman, Ph. D., Belleville, Illinois, Buechler Publishing Company, 1929, pp. 569, ill.

The romantic story of how France explored, won, and lost a mighty empire in America has been told by Monsignor Schlarman largely in the words of contemporaries and actors in the stirring events described. The narrative is, as the author himself says, "somewhat gossipy though documented, or a cursory summary of the high points of the interesting and at times unique occurrences, with just enough explanation to establish in the mind of the reader a logical and casual connection between events." This disclaimer of acting the part of an historian was wisely made for the author rarely expresses an opinion of the relative merits of his sources and he adroitly avoids taking sides in mooted questions. If the narrative lacks, as it does, the clarity and limpid continuity of Parkman's histories, it is full of the original sources that Parkman used—and sometimes misinterpreted—and of much besides. A subtle anti-English atmosphere that pervades the book may be due to the author's large use of French authorities, even when treating of the Revolution in the thirteen original colonies. The general reader will find the work easy reading, for the author has selected picturesque and lively passages from the journals of missionaries and explorers. The more serious student will be grateful for the numerous and sometimes lengthy selections from the writings of those who took part in the events described or were in close touch with those who did so.

The vastness of the territory and the variety of actions and of actors that took parts in it during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries make the story of the French in the valleys of the Saint Lawrence, the Ohio, and the Mississippi a romantic and a fascinating one. The red man, the missionary, the explorer, the trapper traverse the network of mighty streams that formed the highways of travel throughout the Colonial period. Only the settler was absent; on the Atlantic seaboard he was present, felling the virgin forests, drawing stumps, sowing the fields, and conducting town meetings. The French *colon* was to be found only around the strongholds on the Saint Lawrence or near forts sparsely built along the Mississippi. Nor was he en-

couraged by the French officials to settle far afield; he might thus get beyond the reach of that intensely centralized system of government that was deemed essential to the state at home or in the colonies. In that one feature of French policy lay the seed of failure to retain French dominion in America.

The reader will find himself frequently and with profit turning to the map conveniently pasted in duplicate on the inside covers of the book, "compiled by the author from authoritative sources in the archives of Paris, Quebec and Montreal and from original maps and notes of the early explorer." The illustrations, taken mostly from paintings, maps or photographs, are well made and are interesting. Since the days of Winsor, however, historians have made a point of reproducing contemporary prints and of carefully indicating their provenance. Msgr. Schlarman's maps and some of his illustrations are of this type, but not all. His foot-notes are frequent and of great interest. Obscure French Canadian terms or phrases are explained and biographical data are given for every new actor introduced. We read how these pioneers lived and what they did; in their own words they seem to live again, and we follow them in their canoe voyages, sharing to some extent the thrill that they must have felt in finding mighty rivers never before seen by the eye of a white man. Yet the story of the constant difficulties with the Indians is a sad one, whether it be the martyrdom of a missionary or the massacre sometimes of whites by Indians or of Indians by white men.

The work of the missionary among the Indians, primarily for the salvation of souls, had a certain political or rather social value. "The French trader followed the Indian. The value of the Indian from the standpoint of trading increased in the same proportion that the Indian laid aside his nomadic habits and became sedentary. The Indian became sedentary through the efforts of the missionary" (p. 155). Speaking of the action of the Directors of the *Compagnie des Indes* in reducing the number of military posts in the Mississippi Valley, the author says: "This same policy of economy led the Directors of the Company to a very peculiar line of thought. They had noticed the good work that the Jesuits and other missionaries were doing among the Indians of New France and in the Illinois country in the way of breaking their nomadic habits and making them sedentary, teaching them agriculture, stock-raising, weaving,

etc. In short, they noticed that the missionary did more real good among the savages than the soldier, and therefore decided to send more Jesuits and fewer soldiers" (p. 221). One of the main points of difference between the policies of the Church in New France and the state was about the sale of "fire water" to the Indian.

Both French and English enlisted the Indians to fight their battles against each other. "The Indians were, above all, opportunists, ever ready to receive presents, whether given by French or English. Before the coming of the Europeans they had at least been self-supporting. The presents and trading with the whites made them economically dependent. All in all, they fought the battles of the one who gave them most presents, the most merchandise and bullets, and the most rum or brandy for their beaver skins" (p. 339).

The province of Louisiana, whose northern boundary ran just north of the junction of the Illinois and the Mississippi, was ceded by France to Spain in 1762; New France passed to British control in 1763, included in it being the Illinois country. What Msgr. Schlarman calls "the most daring episode of the Revolutionary War" was the march of George Rogers Clark through the flooded valley of the Wabash River in the winter of 1779 to the capture of Fort Sackville or Vincennes. The dramatic story of this fearful march through water up to the waists and even armpits of the soldiers, and of the surrender of the British force, as told in the narratives of Captain Bowman, Col. Clark, and Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, concludes the book.

WILLIAM STETSON MERRILL, A. B.

The Ethical Basis of International Law. By William Francis Roemer, Ph. D., Associate Professor of Philosophy, University of Notre Dame, Loyola University Press, Chicago, 1929, pp. XII+190, \$2.50.

There is a certain propriety in this monograph coming from the pen of the chairman of the historical committee of The Catholic Association for International Peace. For the Association itself not long after its organization in 1927 brought out, through the chairman of its ethical committee, Doctor John A. Ryan, a pamphlet on International Ethics. That pamphlet neither faltered in ideas nor limped in language when it recalled through an enumeration of duties the forgotten truth that na-

tions too are subject to the ten commandments. This fundamental principle was easily established by philosophical arguments. But when empirical proofs are added, the attention of even the materialistic minded is arrested. And tangible proofs are what Professor Roemer brings forward by analyzing the history of international law and discovering its origin and growth in natural morality.

He commences by tracing the equal beginnings of civil society and private law. Then he gives the faint realizations among the pagan Romans that there is some kind of public law. With the coming of the Church these vague presentiments began to take definite shape. As remote as the early middle ages there were the popes expounding the natural law to rulers great and small and intervening between nation and nation for peace and human progress generally. With the Scholastics and above all with Saint Thomas, their leader, the natural law was scientifically formulated for every sphere of human activity. Justice and charity in their several obligations were applied to individuals dealing with individuals, to individuals dealing with public society and to one public society dealing with another. And as the modern era began, and Scholasticism had a second spring time, there were attempts made to draw up a body of international law by such world famous publicists as Victoria and Suarez. Grotius, the author rightly portrays as the building genius who assembled the materials already gathered by the last of the Scholastics.

But Grotius did not seem aware that nations had declared or were declaring their independence of the authority he had invoked to give obligation to the detailed precepts set forth in his classical work. The world had gone from subjectivism in faith to subjectivism in law, and for that matter in economics also, since the Reformation replaced co-operation or distributism, which had human welfare for an end, with capitalism, which has profits and always more profits for an end. The selfish nationalism that was well started when Grotius was publishing his *De Jure Belli ac Pacis* in the third decade of the seventeenth century had fully developed by the time the World War broke out in the second decade of the twentieth century.

During this modern period the author shows International Law to have been without a soul. While it remains so, he regards peace movements as all but futile. He sees no hope for

peace except in getting nations as nations to act once again upon the ten commandments. This can be done only through the slow process of education. And the author gladly contributes his share towards that end. In his own words: "My purpose in preparing this study of International Law was to furnish the thoughtful layman with a complete view of the relation between ethical principles and International Law, in his study of the peace problem. I have made an effort in a simple way to present a subject which had never been handled in any detailed and satisfactory manner."

The apostolic zeal that conceived and the more than ordinary courage that produced the above work cannot but bear good fruit; and this should be the highest test of a book as well as an act. Technical shortcomings must be forgotten in the good wrought and in the good inspired.

JOSEPH P. DONOVAN, C. M.

Arnold Damen, S. J.: A Chapter In the Making of Chicago. By Rev. Joseph P. Conroy, S. J., New York, Benziger Brothers, 1930.

Father Damen, the founder of the Holy Family parish, Chicago, in the fifties of the last century might almost be called the founder of the great west side in that flourishing city. He belonged to a group of a dozen men or fewer, who, each independently in his own field of operations, possessed the pioneer outfit of vision, daring and constructive genius which was to launch Chicago on its rapid and picturesque career of material greatness among the leading cities of the world. The biographer of Father Damen has good grounds for calling his book a "chapter in the making of Chicago."

But Father Damen was in his day more than a local celebrity. He was more than a builder and organizer in a restricted field. As a pulpit orator of unusual power and effectiveness and as a deeply spiritual man of eager zeal, he recognized no boundaries in the pursuit of souls. Seventy years ago his name could fill halls and churches in any American city, and his earnest eloquence left noble fruits in the moral and spiritual life of civic communities in the east as well as in the west. That such a man should slip unrecorded from among the living would have been hardly less than an irreparable loss to our American fund of Catholic inspiration in the lives of our departed worthies.

It is particularly providential that Father Damen's life should have received the attention of a biographer just now, at, so to speak, the very last minute. More than forty years have passed since his death. His own generation has all disappeared and the next is fast thinning out. In a few years he would have become a mere name into which no amount of literary creative art could have breathed a spark of life. His memory has been rescued when it was, as it were, sinking for the last time.

It is perhaps the best time for a rescue of that kind. After forty years a man's true stature will have taken on its proper dimensions, without being wholly engulfed by the tides of time. Spurious greatness will have shrunk by then and only what is genuine and of permanent value will have survived. Father Conroy caught his subject just when the focus was right, after the period of exaggerations and distortions, and before the fading and vanishing stage had set in. We have here a real man, massive and forceful, gentle and democratic, with those little gestures and motions which make all the difference between a dead outline and a breathing likeness.

Father Conroy was fortunate in his subject. On the other hand, it is undeniable that Father Damen was fortunate in his biographer. It would be a poor review which failed to note the rare and matured literary equipment brought to the making of this interesting biography and evident on every page. The reviewer is much mistaken if this life falls short of being, not only a valuable contribution to American Catholic history, but also a notable addition to American Catholic literature.

JAMES J. DALY, S. J.

The Other Side of Government. By David Lawrence, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929, pp. 285, \$2.00.

This is not a systematic treatise on government, but a series of short articles, thirty-four in all, dealing with those activities of the government of the United States, which most vitally affect individual citizens and business, professional, and social groups. Too often the average citizen imagines he has discharged his major duty when he records his vote at presidential elections. He is inclined to confuse the personnel of government with political partisans. His interest in affairs of government is sporadic. At best his knowledge of governmental functions is in-

adequate. Rarely is he correctly informed about the major issues of the day. His limitations are due to a lack of intelligent interest in, and sympathetic understanding of, the complicated problems of government. The daily press with its emphasis on the sensational does not meet the need. Even the conventional treatises on government do little more than supply a framework of government machinery. The present work on the other hand, aims to express the spirit of government activity rather than its functions and technical aspects. The author's twenty years of experience at the national capitol and his training as a journalist have been an excellent preparation for the writing of this popular discussion of the workings of the Federal government. A careful perusal of its contents will furnish the reader with a wealth of information about just those matters with which he should be familiar. At the same time it should give him an appreciation of the nature and scope of the service which his government is rendering him. Moreover, it should serve to waken his sensibility with regard to his civic duties and responsibilities, as well as his rights and privileges.

HUGH GRAHAM, PH. D.

Father Finn, the Story of his Life Told by Himself For his Friends Young and Old. Edited with a Preface by Daniel A. Lord, New York, Benziger Brothers, XXV+236, \$2.50.

Self-effacement is, naturally, not the motif of an auto-biography, but too often, consciously or not, egotism is. Neither fact entered the mind of Father Finn when he proposed to write his memoirs. He was taken up with, as the writer happens to know, two very definite purposes: the desire to destroy a cult which was growing up about him, and the consequent intent to make it impossible for any future biographer to attribute to him qualities which he did not claim. The result is a book which the wiser will read twice. Once for the "story," and more than once for the "content." The story will be a surprise to many. It is doubtful if any single friend of Father Finn was conversant with his entire life as he relates it. To him, as a priest, had come not only the wisdom and the understanding of age and experience, but a place in the literature of the world. With this background he has written into the "content" of his recollections something of value to young and old, to clergy and laity.

In the places of his sojourn Father Finn may be better remembered for certain projects and plans with which he was intimately connected, but to the world at large he will be known and loved for that group of boys he presented to the children of all lands. An American Bollandist, he swept away an impossible pietistic literature and substituted the Catholic American boy.

One marvels at the patience of those Superiors who continued in the ranks this raw and sickly youth, until one wonders if God had not perhaps so ordained it for the delectation and advantage of His "little ones."

WILLIAM L. REENAN, A. B.

The Blair Papers (1603-1660). By M. V. Hay, London and Edinburgh, Sands & Co., 1929, pp. XI+275.

The systematic persecution of the old faith in Scotland during the entire seventeenth century worked havoc with everything Catholic. To all appearances the triumph of heresy was complete. Little or no mention is made in the history current in our classrooms of the vigorous counter-campaign waged by Catholics for the right to live and believe as their consciences dictated. Outside of the efforts of Bellesheim, Hunter-Blair, Major Hay himself and very few others, scarcely any other historian of Scottish history makes reference to the truly heroic struggles of those who opposed the violence of the reforming religionists in the land of the cairn. It might be conceded that the endeavors of Scotsmen to maintain the faith of their fathers were not as persistent or as successful as those of the Catholics of England; still it is far from true that everybody just mildly acquiesced and became Presbyterians overnight. It is only proper that the world learn the whole truth of these times. Scotland, certainly, did not become Protestant without a struggle. This we would not discover solely from Major Hay's first compilation of the Blair Papers; still in editing and assembling this present book, Major Hay has put at the disposal of those who are willing or who are anxious to help check errors that have gone long unchallenged a very excellent amount of valuable source material.

The Blair Papers, as the editor states, are a collection of hitherto unpublished documents at Blairs College. They are the property of the Catholic Hierarchy of Scotland. For the most

part the papers are "letters written by Scottish Jesuit Fathers in the middle of the seventeenth century, which treat not only of private affairs but also of the great political and military business of the time and provide contemporary comment on events in which Montrose, Cromwell and Charles II are leading figures." Indeed, it is precisely this feature of the letters that tends to make them so interesting and so valuable. In the present work Major Hay has used, it would appear, only a small portion of the whole collection, but in the epistles chosen we find a host of trustworthy witnesses testifying to nearly all the momentous activities of those memorable events. Through these letters history becomes something living. Here a contemporary discusses Montrose; there another expresses his opinions of Cromwell; a third characterizes the uncertainty and hesitancy of Charles II. One thoroughly enjoys these contemporary pen-pictures. Now we have recorded the expectations and passing successes of the oppressed Catholics; again there is drawn for us a sketch of the trials and disappointments of these poor persecuted people. All is fascinating and very useful information. Hereafter the compiler of history text-books, the historical novelist and the dramatist cannot afford to overlook Major Hay's *Blair Papers*, which are in a very true sense of the word a veritable fountain-head of Scottish historical data.

GERALD P. BRENNAN, S. J.

The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine (1611-1820). By Sister Mary Celeste Leger, M. A., Sister of Mercy, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., 1929, pp. X+184.

This monograph is a valuable addition to the literature on the activities of the early missionaries in New France. The first intention of the author was to present a revised edition of John Gilmary Shea's *Catholic Missions Among the Indian Tribes of the United States (1529-1854)*, published some seventy-five years ago. It was planned to incorporate valuable data which the past decades of historical study had contributed and to bring the story up to the present. This project, however, had to be relinquished: the problem was prodigious and complex; the haphazard policy of the government in dealing with the Indians presented almost insurmountable difficulties to the historian; finally, the records of work among the Indians, whether left by individuals or by organizations, were scanty and incomplete. In

view of this, the subject was confined to a detailed study of the Catholic Abenaki of Maine from the coming of the missionaries to the entrance of Maine into the Union.

The decision was a happy one and resulted in an interesting and intensive study by one who shows exceptional acquaintance with sources and masterful handling of matter. A study of this nature presupposes a sketch of the tribes of Maine. The author presents this together with a list of the tribes, which, though not claimed to be complete, is useful and valuable. The early efforts of Jesuit, Recollet and Capuchin are in turn recounted. The story of Father Druillettes's work among the Indians of the Kennebec and his negotiations with the English for a union against the Iroquois forms an interesting episode.

Closely upon the foundation of the first missions followed the intercolonial wars. They had a lamentable effect on the tribes that were the buffers between New England and New France. Both the sedentary missions at Sillery, Becancourt and St. François along the St. Lawrence and the Christian settlements situated in the forests of Maine suffered from English and French rivalry. The French complained of "English aggressions on the lands of the Indian allies of the French, of the evil influence of the English traders upon the natives, and attempts made to discredit the Catholic Faith in the eyes of the savages." The English emphasize "the horrible massacres which it was claimed were instigated by French officials and Catholic missionaries; failure of the Abenaki, because of French encouragement, to keep treaty obligations; and unscrupulous scheming and conscienceless double-dealing of the officials of New France." The underlying causes which involved the Abenaki in the struggle between the rival colonies were: "the unsettled boundary question which threw these tribes onto debatable territory; the varying theories of land ownership held by the French, the English and the native; the question as to whether these Indians were subject to French or English jurisdiction with the corollary:—did treaty obligations imposed upon them by the British government have a binding force; and religious intolerance on either side."

The year 1763 brought a period of new disaster to the missions of Maine. The Christian flocks were left without shepherds. The Indians appealed to civil authorities for a "black-robe," the English offered Anglican clergymen, which the Indi-

ans refused. Ecclesiastical authorities had to put off the Indians for many years. It was not until the establishment of the American hierarchy that aid could be offered.

In tracing these various movements, Sister M. Celeste displays a fine technique. She treats disputed questions with discrimination, taking to task, in turn, Parkman and Shea. After studying both the French and English position on Argall, she concludes he cannot be considered a pirate or buccaneer. The "notorious," "treacherous" Father Biard is accorded the sympathetic treatment he deserves, as a man of good sense and rare foresight as a pioneer among pioneer missionaries. The policies of Jesuits and Capuchins as to dispositions required for baptism are carefully studied. These are only a few instances that show great familiarity with the subject and historical sense in detecting inaccuracies and correcting blunders.

The work is a creditable contribution to the study of the Catholic missions in our Country. We cannot but wish that Sister Celeste may have awakened in others a desire to continue the subject so as to fill the need of a complete and up-to-date survey of so agreeable a subject as the inspiring work of Catholic missionaries.

ALPHONSE J. EI.

L'Administration de la Nouvelle-France, L'Administration Generale. These pour Le Doctorat d'Université De Paris. Par Gustave Lanctot, Paris, Libraire Ancienne Honore Champion, 5, Quai Malaquais, 5, 1929, pp. 169.

This volume, is the author's thesis written in partial requirement for a doctorate in the University of Paris. Dr. Lanctot has made an important contribution to a branch of American history in which scholars of the United States as well as Canada become daily more interested. His work bears evidence of scholarship, research and historical judgment, and all students of Canadiana will be grateful to him for choosing New France as the field of his studies. In Canada and wherever French is spoken Dr. Lanctot's book would serve as an excellent text for courses in the civil government of New France.

With characteristic French clarity the author analyses the general civil administration of Canada under the old regime. First, in an introductory chapter, he gives a brief, comprehensive view of the entire field and states his thesis. Then, by a

mass of evidence taken largely from government archives, the author unfolds his subject in its three great elements—the governor, the intendant and the sovereign council. Five chapters of the book—from the second to the sixth, both included—are devoted to a masterly synthesis and critique of these three main factors of the civil administration. Each agency of government is studied in detail and its sphere of influence, its powers and limitations are defined with as much precision as the complexity of the subject admits. If, at times, the author fails to be clear and precise, the fault must be attributed to the system itself and to its authors, Louis XIV, and his minister, Colbert.

The governor, intendant and sovereign council held all the civil powers in New France, or rather they exercised all the power which was given them by Versailles. Under the French regime in Canada we look in vain for the three ordinary departments of government, legislative, executive and judicial. At first the governor was supreme until his sphere was limited by the creation of the sovereign council. This body began with important functions in the legislative, judicial and even executive spheres, but its power, except on paper, was only for a day. Then appeared in Canada the first intendant of justice, police and finance. Backed by Versailles he soon cast a shadow on both governor and council. There was a constant clashing of rights and overlapping of powers between governor, council and intendant, with Versailles supporting now one, and now another, while generally allowing the intendant to be lion.

Dr. Lanctot's book has but a few brief references to the ecclesiastical regime in New France. But there is enough to reveal the Gallicanism of the French regime in Canada and the determined efforts of Louis XIV and his Minister to make the bishop and the missionaries pliant tools in the service of the state. We are not surprised that the French regime in Canada fell with Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham. That gallant Frenchman had repeatedly warned his sovereign of the impending crisis, while in his *Journal* he wrote: "All the authority in this country is in the hands of two men, or rather of one man, the intendant." Dr. Lanctot closes his book with a valuable bibliography of source materials, manuscript and printed, primary and secondary.

Historical Records and Studies. Vol. XIX, September, 1929, pp. 139. (New York, The United States Catholic Historical Society, Thomas F. Meehan, Percy J. King, and Henry Ridder, Editing Committee).

This issue of a well known historical series contains seven papers on widely different subjects, viz. Rev. Mariano Cuevas, S. J., "The Codex Saville: America's Oldest Book"; Rev. Francis X. Talbot, S. J., "Blessed Isaac Jogues"; Thomas F. Meehan, "Archbishop Hughes and Mexico"; John G. Coyle, M. D., "James Shields, Soldier, Justice, Senator"; Thomas F. Meehan, "The Centenary of American Catholic Fiction"; Isaac H. Sherwood, "Beginnings of Government in Maryland"; Thomas F. Meehan, "Two Pioneer Russian Missionaries."

Father Cuevas's discussion of the Codex Saville is a careful piece of critical research as only one of his expertness in the field of pre-Cortesian Mexican history would be equal to. The Saville manuscript or Codex recently secured in Lima, Peru, by the Heye Foundation of New York and named for Dr. Marshall H. Saville is a Mexican historical document published for the first time in this issue of *Historical Records and Studies*. What gives it unusual interest and value is its extreme antiquity, its origin being referred by Father Cuevas to the middle of the fifteenth century, and the important details it supplies for the pre-Cortesian history of Mexico. Antedating as it does all other known historical codices originating in the New World, it may well lay claim to the distinction of being "America's Oldest Book." Another interesting paper in the volume under review is Mr. Meehan's "Archbishop Hughes and Mexico," which incorporates a previously unpublished letter of President Polk's on the appointment of Catholic chaplains during the Mexican War. This letter supplemented by extracts from Polk's diary affords gratifying evidence of the President's liberal attitude to the Catholic Church as it also brings to light certain curious manifestations of anti-Catholic bigotry with which he had to contend.

G. J. G.

Michigan History Magazine, Vol. XIV, Winter Number, 1930.

This issue of the *Michigan History Magazine* contains two contributions of particular interest, one, "Manuscript Maps of American European Archives," by Professor Louis C. Karpinski

of the University of Michigan and the other, "The Spring Hill Indian Correspondence" by Sister Mary Rosalita of Marygrove College, Detroit. The altogether noteworthy series of photostatic maps from French and Spanish archives illustrative of American history which Professor Karpinski has skilfully brought together is now within reach of students in various libraries and archival centers in this country. The professor in the present paper explains the character of this remarkable collection and the circumstances under which the project was planned and carried through. "The Spring Hill Indian School Correspondence" is a reproduction of the text of various letters and papers from the Library of Congress, The Burton Historical Collection, Detroit, and Catholic church archives, all bearing on the story of an Indian school founded in 1808 by Father Gabriel Richard on a tract of land now within the municipal limits of Detroit. This appears to have been the first Indian school opened in the United States under Catholic auspices. Moreover, so the author of this important paper declares, certain views and suggestions of Father Richard apropos of Indian education were incorporated by the federal government in a circular of instructions for managers of Indian schools issued in 1819. "The circular of 1819 states explicitly that those who expected government aid must include in the course of studies in addition to reading, writing and arithmetic, practical knowledge in agriculture and mechanical arts for the boys, while spinning, weaving and sewing must be taught to the girls. This plan adopted by the government became the basis of all later training in the Indian schools throughout the United States. Deservedly then might Father Richard bear the title "Father of Modern Indian Education" (page 101).

G. J. G.

The Salesianum, January, 1930, St. Francis, Wisconsin.

This official bulletin of the Alumni Association of St. Francis Seminary, St. Francis, Wisconsin, presents in serial form an important paper, "Historical Antecedents of St. Francis Seminary," by the Rev. Peter Leo Johnson, D. D. Dr. Johnson, Professor of Church history in the seminary named, has gone to great pains in assembling the scattered data that provide the historical background for the institution now engaged in the great work of training candidates for the ministry in the arch-

diocese of Milwaukee. Especially interesting is it to note the use made of the Cincinnati *Wahreitsfreund*, a valuable primary source of American church history, the significance of which would go unsuspected by students if it were not for just such papers as the present. With regard to the testimony cited from J. B. Stallo, (p. 17), it may be noted that this curious figure, who in his mature years achieved eminence as a writer on scientific subjects, was attorney for a refractory priest in a suit brought against the latter by Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati in 1848 and later, it would appear, severed altogether his connection with the Church. The Father Beauprez referred to on p. 25 was a diocesan priest, not a Jesuit.

1854-1929. *Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church, W. 30th and Carroll Ave., Cleveland, Ohio, 1929*, pp. 78.

The beginnings of the Church in our large American centers of population is a theme of never failing interest, the incidents in the foreground being invariably those that tell of hardship, loyalty, and self-sacrificing devotion. The present church of St. Mary of the Assumption has for a long stretch of years been serving the needs of the German Catholics of Cleveland's West Side, formerly a distinct municipality known as Ohio City. The course of parish history during all this time follows the usual lines of parish development and organization, pastors and people affording mutual aid in the great task of safeguarding and perpetuating the Faith. The outstanding features in this story of the evolution of an important urban parochial unit are sketched interestingly by Rev. Francis Haggney of the Society of Jesus, which on July 31, 1880, assumed charge of the parish and has cared for it ever since.

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CONTENTS AND INDEX
VOLUME XII
NEW SERIES, VOLUME I

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MID-AMERICA

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XII, NEW SERIES, VOLUME I

ARTICLES

	PAGE
THE PRESIDENT SPEAKS: MID-AMERICA—OUR NEW NAME. Frederic Siedenburg.	3
THE POLITICAL REGIME OF THE FRENCH IN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY. Louise Callan.	4
THE TRUTH TELLER. Paul J. Foik.	37
ON THE STUDY OF PLACE-NAMES. John M. Rothsteiner.	58
TWO PIONEER INDIANA PRIESTS. Francis S. Holweck.	63
THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF CATHOLIC SOCIETIES. Anthony Matre. (cont'd. from vol. XI)	82
SOME UNPUBLISHED LORIAN DOCUMENTS. Matthias M. Hoffman.	103
GENERAL JAMES A. WILKINSON AND HIS RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS. Raphael Noteware Hamilton.	122
IRISH IMMIGRATION ON TO MINNESOTA, 1865-1890. Howard Eston Egan.	133, 223
GLEANINGS FROM CURRENT PERIODICALS. William Stetson Merrill.	167
EARLY EXPLORERS OF THE SOUTHWEST. Paul J. Foik.	199
PORT WASHINGTON DRAFT RIOT OF 1862. Peter Leo Johnson.	212
MISSION SAN JUAN BAUTISTA. May Stanislaus Corcoran.	246
BANDELIER: ARCHAEOLOGIST OF OUR SOUTHWEST. William Stetson Merrill.	291
AN EPISODE IN QUEBEC-LOUISIANA HISTORY. Patrick W. Browne.	296
PROPAGANDA AND THE SUPPRESSION OF THE JESUIT RELATIONS. William R. Corrigan.	306
CATHOLIC BEGINNINGS IN SOUTHEASTERN IOWA, 1832-1844. Charles F. Griffith.	311

DOCUMENTS

PLANS OF FORT ORLEANS. Drawn by Dumont de Montigny. Edited by Baron Marc de Villiers du Terrage.	259
ESPINOSA'S DIARY. Edited by Gabriel Tous.	339
BOOK REVIEWS.	98, 183, 272, 367
NEWS AND COMMENTS.	172, 264, 362
DIRECTORY OF CONTRIBUTORS.	

INDEX

MID-AMERICA

(FORMERLY THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW)

VOLUME XII, NEW SERIES VOLUME I

Names of contributors are in small capitals; titles of articles in this volume are in italics; titles of books and periodicals reviewed or mentioned are in quotation marks. Book reviews are entered under author and title of book, and under the name of the reviewer; no entries are made for the subject of the book except in the case of biographies. The following abbreviations are used: tr., translator; ed., editor; revs., reviews; revd., reviewed. Clerical titles and titles of honor are usually found only when the forename is lacking. (A. E. D.)

- "Adelaide of St. Theresa, Mother," by A. F. Valerson, revd., 193.
- "Administration de la Nouvelle-France, L'Administration Generale," by Gustave Lanctot, revd., 377.
- Admiral's Map, 5.
- Adrian, Nobles County, Minnesota, 153.
- Alleman, John George, 330.
- Altieri, Cardinal, 309.
- Alvord, Clarence Walworth, 172.
- American Federation of Catholic Societies*, by ANTHONY MATRE, (cont'd from vol. XI), 82-97.
- "American History," by William Mace, revd., 281.
- Anderson family, 335.
- Andrews, William Eusebius, 37 ff.
- "Annals of the Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart, No. 1," revd., 194.
- Arrestiosos River, 6.
- Artaguette, D', 17, 21.
- Asturiano, Father, 201.
- Avoca, Murray County, Minnesota, 226.
- Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, see Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer Collection.
- Baldwin, Raymond H., revs. James's "The Raven, A Life Story of Sam Houston," 284.
- Bandelier: Archaeologist of Our Southwest*, by W. S. MERILL, 291-95.
- Barlett, Caleb, 55.
- Bassett, John Spencer, "Makers of a New Nation" (Pageant of America, vol. IX), revd., 283.
- Baudoin, Michael, 304.
- Beaubois, Nicholas Ignace de, 303.
- Beauharnois, Charles, Marquis de, 21.
- Benedictines of Einsiedeln, 70.
- Berkeley, pseud., see Levins, Thomas C.
- Bienville, Céloron de, 27.
- Bienville, Jean Baptiste Le Moyne, Sieur de, 15 ff.
- Bigstone County, Minnesota, 150.
- Biloxi, Mississippi, 15.
- "Blair Papers," ed. by M. V. Ray, revd., 374.
- Blanc, Anthony, 107.
- Bodfish, Father, 155.
- Bolton, Herbert Eugene, "History of the Americas," revd., 191.
- Bonfanti, Joseph, 39.
- Boyd, Thomas, "Mad Anthony Wayne," revd., 279.
- Brady, Thomas S., 42.
- BRENNAN, GERALD P., revs. "The Blair Papers," ed. by M. V. Hay, 374.
- BROWNE, PATRICK W., *An Episode in Quebec-Louisiana History*, 296-305.
- Brute, Simon, 64, 106.
- Cahenslyism, 148.
- Caldwell, William, 175.
- California Missions, 173, 246 ff.
- CALLAN, LOUISE, *The Political Regime of the French in the Mississippi Valley*, 4-36.
- Canada, Catholic Church in, 296-305, 306-310.
- Capuchins of Champagne, 298.
- Carmelites, 298.
- Cartier, Jacques, 6.
- Castillo Maldonado, Alfonso de, 202.
- Castro, José, 254.
- Castro, Maria Antonia, 256.
- Castro, Rose, 256.
- Catholic Advocate (newspaper), 113.
- Catholic Beginnings in Southeastern Iowa, 1832-1844*, by C. F. GRIFFITH, 311-338.
- Catholic Church in Canada, 296-305, 306-310.
- Catholic Church in Louisiana, 67.
- Catholic Colonization Bureau, 139 ff.
- "Catholic Indian Missions in Maine (1611-1820)," by Sister Mary Celeste Leger, revd., 375.
- Catholic Interest in History, 175.
- Catholic Newspapers in the United States, 37-57.
- "Catholic Periodical Index," 362.

- "Catholic Sponsors of Iowa," by M. M. Hoffman, revd., 189.
 Celestine, Indiana, 69.
 CHAMBERLAIN, CECIL H., revs. Townsend's "Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town," 282.
 Champlain, Samuel, 7.
 Chartier de Lotbinière, Louis Eustache, 299.
 "Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics," by C. E. Merriam, revd., 273.
 Chicago Fire, 179-182.
 Chicago Portage Route, 179.
 "Chronicles of an Old Missouri Parish," by John Rothensteiner, revd., 194.
 Cibola, 167, 204.
 Cincinnati, Ohio, 80.
 Civil War, Wisconsin, 212-222.
 Clement X, Pope, 307.
 Cleveland, Ohio, St. Mary's Church. "Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee, 1854-1929," by Francis Haggney, revd., 381.
 Colbert, Jean Baptiste, 8 ff.
 Columbia College, Dubuque, Iowa, 118.
 Company of the Indies, 301.
 Company of the West, 18, 297.
 Connemara Colony, Minnesota, 235.
 Conroy, Joseph P. "Arnold Damen, S. J.: A Chapter in the Making of Chicago," revd., 371.
 CORCORAN, MAY STANISLAUS, *Mission San Juan Bautista*, 246-258.
 Coronado, Francisco Vásquez de, 167, 203.
 CORRIGAN, WILLIAM RAYMOND, *Propaganda and the Suppression of the Jesuit Relations*, 306-310; "Die Kongregation De Propaganda Fide und ihre Tatigkeit in Nord-Amerika," revd., 276.
 Cortes, Hernando de, 6.
 Covered Wagon Centennial, 363.
 Crespi, Juan, 246.
 Crozat, Antoine, 18.
 DALY, JAMES J., revs. Gallery's "Life of William J. Onahan," 275; Conroy's "Arnold Damen, S. J.: A Chapter in the Making of Chicago," 371.
 "Damen, Arnold, S. J.: A Chapter in the Making of Chicago," by J. P. Conroy, revd., 371.
 Decailly, Louis, 119.
 Denman, William, 40 ff.
 "Doctrina Breve in Fac-Simile," ed. by T. F. Meehan, revd., 191.
 Donoghue, David, 167.
 DONOVAN, JOSEPH P., revs. Roemer's "The Ethical Basis of International Law," 369.
 Dorantes, Andres, 202.
 Dosquet, Pierre Herman, 299.
 Douglas, Stephen Arnold, 264.
 DOYLE, RICHARD D., revs. Mace's "American History," 281.
 Draft Riot of 1862, Port Washington, Wis., 212-222.
 Dubuque, Iowa, Archdiocese of, 103-121.
 Duggan, James, 264.
Early Explorers of the Southwest, by P. J. FOIK, 199-211.
 EGAN, HOWARD ESTON, *Irish Immigration to Minnesota, 1865-1890*, 133-166, 223-245.
 EI, ALPHONSE J., revs. Sister Mary Celeste Leger's "The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine (1611-1820)," 375.
 "1854-1929. Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church . . . Cleveland, Ohio," by Francis Haggney, revd., 381.
 "Eighteenth Century Comanche Document," [reprint], revd., 187.
Episode in Quebec-Louisiana History, by P. W. BROWNE, 296-305.
 ESPINOSA, ISIDRO FELIS DE, *Ramon Expedition: Espinosa's Diary of 1716*, tr. by Gabriel Tous, 339-361.
 Estevanico, 202.
 "Ethical Basis of International Law," by W. P. Donovan, revd., 369.
 "Father Finn, the Story of His Life Told by Himself," ed. by D. A. Lord, revd., 373.
 Ferdinand, Indiana, 66.
 Ferneding, Joseph, 78-81.
 Finn, Francis James, "Father Finn, the Story of His Life Told by Himself," ed. by D. A. Lord, revd., 373.
 Flaget, Benedict Joseph, 313.
 FOIK, PAUL J., *The Truth Teller*, 37-57; *Early Explorers of the Southwest*, 199-211.
 Ford, Antoinette E., "My Minnesota," revd., 272.
 Forsyth, Thomas, 312.
 Fort Duquesne, 28.
 Fort Frontenac, 9.
 Fort Le Boeuf, 27.
 Fort Machault, 27.
 Fort Necessity, 28.
Fort Orleans on the Missouri, A Hitherto Unpublished Plan of, drawn by DUMONT DE MONTIGNY, ed. by BARON MARD DE VILLIERS DU TERRAGE, 259-263.

- Fort Rosalle, 20.
 France. Colonial policy, 4-36.
 "Franciscan Missions in Texas," by T. P. O'Rourke, revd., 190.
 Franciscan Province of the Sacred Heart, "Annals, No. 1," revd., 194.
 Frémont, John Charles, 253.
 French and Indian War, 24-36.
French in the Mississippi Valley, The Political Regime of the, by LOUISE CALLAN, 4-36.
 "From Quebec to New Orleans," by J. H. Schlarman, revd., 367.
 Frontenac, Louis de Buade, Comte de, 8.
 Fulda, Indiana, 68.
 Fusseder, Francis, 220.
 G. J. G., see Garraghan, Gilbert J.
 Gabriel, Ralph Henry (co-author), "The Winning of Freedom," (Pageant of America, vol. VI), revd., 98; (co-author), "In Defense of Liberty," (Pageant of America, vol. VII), revd., 283.
 Galissonière, Michel Rolland Barrin, Comte de La, see La Galissonière, Michel Rolland Barrin, Comte de.
 Gallery, Mrs. Mary (Onahan), "Life of William J. Onahan," revd., 275.
 Gallicanism, 298.
 Galtier, Lucien, 115, 332.
 Garay, Francis de, 199.
 GARRAGHAN, GILBERT J., 3, 168; revs. The United States Catholic Historical Society. "Historical Records and Studies," vol. XIX, 379; "Michigan History Magazine," vol. XIV, 379.
General James Wilkinson and His Religious Affiliations, by R. N. HAMILTON, 122-132.
 Gildea, H. V., 334.
Gleanings from Current Periodicals, by W. S. MERRILL, 167-171.
 Grace, Thomas, 141.
 Graceville, Bigstone County, Minnesota, 234.
 Grafton, Illinois, 266.
 GRAHAM, HUGH, revs. Lawrence's "The Other Side of Government," 372.
 GRIFFITH, CHARLES F., *Catholic Beginnings in Southeastern Iowa, 1832-1844*, 311-338.
 Haggenev, Francis, comp., "1854-1929. Souvenir of the Diamond Jubilee of St. Mary's Church . . . Cleveland, Ohio," revd., 381.
 HAMILTON, RAPHAEL NOTEWARE, *General James Wilkinson and His Religious Affiliations*, 122-132.
 Hay, M. V., ed., "The Blair Papers," revd., 374.
 Historic Monuments Commission of the Province of Quebec (publisher) Roy's "L'Île D'Orleans," revd., 186.
 "Historical Records and Studies," vol. XIX, of The United States Catholic Historical Society, revd., 379.
 "History of the Americans," by H. E. Bolton, revd., 191.
 HOFFMAN, MATTHIAS M., *Some Unpublished Lorian Documents*, 103-121; revs. Ford's "My Minnesota," 272; his "The Catholic Sponsors of Iowa," revd., 189.
 HOLWECK, FRANCIS S. *Two Pioneer Indiana Priests*, tr. by Francis Scheper, 63-81.
 "Houston, Sam, The Raven, A Life Story of," by Marquis James, revd., 284.
 Hughes, John, 44 ff.
 Iberville, Pierre Le Moyné, Sieur d', 14.
 "Île D'Orleans," ed. by P.-G. Roy, pub. by the Historic Monuments Commission of Quebec, revd., 186.
 Illinois Catholic Historical Society Review, 3.
 Illinois Country, 24.
 Imgraham, P. T., 217.
Immigration, Irish, to Minnesota, 1865-1890, by H. E. EGAN, 133-166, 223-245.
 "In Defense of Liberty," (Pageant of America, vol. VII), by William Wood and R. H. Gabriel, revd., 283.
Indiana Priests, Two Pioneer, by F. S. HOLWECK, 63-81.
Iowa, Catholic Beginnings in Southeastern, 1832-1844, by C. F. GRIFFITH, 310-338.
 Iowa, Catholic Church in, 103-121, 311-338.
 Ireland, John, 142.
 Irish American Colonization Company, Limited, 228.
 Irish Catholic Colonization Association, 153.
 Irish Emigration Society, Minnesota, 142.
Irish Immigration to Minnesota, 1865-1890, by H. E. EGAN, 133-166, 223-245.
 Irish newspapers in America, 37-57.
 Irish Shield (newspaper), 51.
 James, Marquis, "The Raven, A Life Story of Sam Houston," revd., 284.
 Jaramillo, Juan, 208.
 Jasper, Indiana, 64 ff.
 Jesuit Martyrs of North America, 365.

- Jesuit Relations, Suppression of, 306-310.
- Jesuits in Louisiana, 298 ff.
- JOHNSON, PETER LEO, *Port Washington Draft Riot of 1862*, 212-222.
- Jolliet, Louis, 8, 178, 266.
- Juan de Castro Mission, 250.
- Juan de la Cruz, 208.
- Kalmer, Leo, "Stronger than Death: Historical Notes on . . . the Yellow Fever Epidemics at Memphis in 1873, 1878, and 1879," revd., 193.
- Karpinski Maps of the Missouri Region, 169.
- Keir, Malcolm, "The March of Commerce," (Pageant of America, vol. IV), revd., 98.
- KEMPER, ALOYSIUS C., revs. Corrigan's "Die Kongregation De Propaganda Fide und ihre Tatigkeit in Nord-Amerika," 276.
- Keokuk, Iowa, 311 ff.
- Kerlerec, Louis Billouart de, 23.
- KLEESPIES, DOROTHY CATHERINE, revs. Keir's "The March of Commerce," 98; Wood's and Gabriel's "The Winning of Freedom," 98; Wood's and Gabriel's "In Defense of Liberty," 283; Bassett's "Makers of a New Nation," 283; Sullivan's and Logie's "Story of the Old Spanish Missions of the Southwest," 285.
- Knauf, C. J., 156.
- Knight, Robert (co-author), "The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century," revd., 183.
- "Kongregation De Propaganda Fide und ihre Tatigkeit in Nord-Amerika," by W. R. Corrigan, revd., 276.
- Kundek, Joseph, 63-78.
- La Galissonniere, Michel Roland Barin, Comte de, 26.
- La Hailandiere, Celestine de, 66 ff.
- La Moethe-Cadillac, Antoine de, 17.
- Lanctot, Gustave, "L'Administration de la Nouvelle France, L'Administration Generale," revd., 377.
- La Salle, Robert Cavalier, Sieur de, 7.
- Law, John, 19.
- Lawrence, David, "The Other Side of Government," revd., 372.
- Lefevre, Peter Paul, 317.
- Leopoldine Association, 63 ff.
- Levins, Thomas C., 42 ff.
- "Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town," by W. H. Townsend, revd., 282.
- "Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century," by Robert Knight and L. H. Zeuch, revd., 183.
- Logie, Alfred E. (co-author), "Story of the Old Spanish Missions of the Southwest," revd., 285.
- LOMASNEY, PATRICK J., revs. Lantot's "L'Administration de la Nouvelle France, L'Administration Generale," 377.
- Loras, Pierre Jeàn Mathias, 103-121, 329.
- Lord, Daniel A., ed. "Father Finn, the Story of His Life Told by Himself," revd., 373.
- Louis XIV, 11.
- Louisburg, 24.
- Louisiana, 4-36, 67, 296-305.
- "Louisiana and Mississippi Martyrs," by J. J. O'Brien, revd., 192.
- Luis de Escalona, 208.
- Lyon County, Minnesota, 150.
- M. I. E. S., see Minnesota Irish Emigration Society.
- MacAlpin, Fergus, pseud., see Levins, Thomas C.
- Mace, William, "American History," revd., 281.
- MacNeven, Doctor, 42.
- "Mad Anthony Wayne," by Thomas Boyd, revd., 279.
- Mahoney, Martin, 239.
- "Makers of a New Nation," (Pageant of America, vol. IX), by J. S. Bassett, revd., 283.
- "March of Commerce," (Pageant of America, vol. IV), by Malcolm Keir, revd., 98.
- Marcos de Niza, 203.
- Marquette, Jacques, 8, 177, 266.
- Mary Celeste Leger, Sister, "The Catholic Indian Missions in Maine (1611-1820)," revd., 375.
- Mary of the Incarnation, Sister, 179.
- Maryknoll Catholic Foreign Missionary Society, 256.
- Mategorda, 10.
- MATRE, ANTHONY, *The American Federation of Catholic Societies* (cont'd. from vol. XI), 82-97.
- Mazzuchelli, Samuel Charles, 114, 327.
- Meehan, Thomas F., ed. "The Doctrine Breve in Fac-Simile," revd., 191.
- Mendoza, Antonio de, 203.
- Merriam, Charles Edward, "Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics," revd., 273.
- MERRILL, ETHEL OWEN, revs. Merriam's "Chicago: A More Intimate View of Urban Politics," 273.

- MERRILL, WILLIAM STETSON, *Gleanings from Current Periodicals*, 161-171; *Bandelier: Archaeologist of Our Southwest*, 291-295; revs. Schlarman's "From Quebec to New Orleans," 367.
- "Michigan History Magazine," vol. XIV, revd., 379.
- Mid-America, new name of publication of Illinois Catholic Historical Society, 3.
- Mignault, Napoleon, 220.
- Minnesota Irish Emigration Society, 141 ff.
- Minnesota, Irish Immigration to, 1865-1890*, by H. E. EGAN, 133-166, 223-245.
- Mission San Juan Bautista*, by M. S. CORCORAN, 246-258.
- Missions, 173, 246 ff., 339-361.
- Mississippi Bubble, 18.
- Mississippi Valley, The Political Regime of the French in the*, by LOUISE CALLAN, 4-36.
- Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 172.
- Missouri Region, Karpinski Maps of the, 168.
- Mofras, Duffot de, 250.
- MONTIGNY, DUMONT DE, *A Hitherto Unpublished Plan of Fort Orleans on the Missouri*, ed. by BARON MARC DE VILLIERS DU TERRAGE, 259-263.
- Mornay, Louis François du Plessis de, 296-305.
- "Mother Adelaide of St. Theresa," by A. F. Valerson, revd., 193.
- Murray County, Minnesota, 150.
- "My Minnesota," by A. E. Ford, revd., 272.
- Narvaez, Panfilo de, 199 ff.
- New Orleans, Louisiana, 67.
- Newberry Library, Chicago, Ayer Collection, 168.
- Newspapers, Irish in U. S., 37-57.
- Nicolet, Jean, 7.
- Nicollet, Jean Nicolas, 109.
- Nobles County, Minnesota, 150.
- North Country, 169.
- Nugent, James, 143.
- Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar, 201.
- O'Brien, Dillon, 142.
- O'Brien, James J., "The Louisiana and Mississippi Martyrs," revd., 192.
- O'Connor, J. P., 145.
- O'Conor, Thomas, 42.
- "Oeuvre Historique de Pierre-Georges Roy: Bibliographie Analytique," by Antoine Roy, revd., 185.
- Ohio Company, 27.
- Oliva, Pedro Juan de la, 310.
- On the Study of Place-names*, by J. M. ROTHSTEINER, 58-62.
- Onahan, William J., 141 ff.; "Life of William J. Onahan," by Mrs. Mary (Onahan) Gallery, revd., 275.
- O'Rourke, Thomas P., "The Franciscan Missions in Texas," revd., 190.
- "Other Side of Government," by David Lawrence, revd., 372.
- Oviedo, 202.
- Owen, Thomas J. V., 363.
- Padilla, Juan, 208.
- "Pageant of America," vols. IV and VI, revd., 98, vols. VII and IX, revd., 283.
- Palos, Juan de, 199.
- Pardow, George, 40 ff.
- Pepper, George, 51.
- Periodicals, Gleanings from Current*, by W. S. MERRILL, 167-171.
- Pico, Pio, 25.
- Pineda, Juan de, 5.
- Place-names, On the Study of*, by J. M. ROTHSTEINER, 58-62.
- Plessis de Mornay, Louis François du, see Mornay, Louis François du Plessis de.
- Political Regime of the French in the Mississippi Valley*, by LOUISE CALLAN, 4-36.
- Pontbriand, Henri Marie Dubriel du, 304.
- Pontchartrain, Louis Phélypeaux, 297.
- Port Washington Draft Riot of 1862*, by P. L. JOHNSON, 212-222.
- Portier, Michael, 104.
- Potawatomi Indians, 177.
- President Speaks, Mid-America—Our New Name*, by FREDERIC SIEDENBURG, 3.
- Propaganda and the Suppression of the Jesuit Relations*, by W. R. CORRIGAN, 306-310.
- Propagation of the Faith, Society of the, see Society of the Propagation.
- Protestant (newspaper), 44.
- Quebec, 185, 296-305.
- Quincy, Illinois, 326.
- Quivira, 167.
- Raguet, Abbé, 302.
- Ramon Expedition: Espinosa's Diary of 1716*, by I. F. DE ESPINOSA, tr. by Gabriel Tous, 339-361.
- Raphael of Luxemburg, Father, 302.
- "Raven, A Life Story of Sam Houston," by Marquis James, revd., 284.
- Reenan, William L., revs. "Father Finn, the Story of His Life Told by

- Himself," 373.
- Reeves, George W., 169.
- Remonville, Sieur de, 14.
- Riordan, George T., 221.
- Rivere Valleys in History, 4.
- Roemer, William Francis, "The Ethical Basis of International Law," revd., 369.
- Rosati, Joseph, 103, 313.
- Rothensteiner, John Ernest, "Chronicles of an Old Missouri Parish," revd., 194.
- ROTHSTEINER, JOHN M., *On the Study of Place-names*, 58-62.
- Roy, Antoine, "L'Oeuvre Historique de Pierre-Georges Roy: Bibliographie Analytique," revd., 185.
- Roy, Pierre-Georges, ed., "L'Île D'Orleans," revd., 186; "L'Oeuvre Historique de Pierre-Georges Roy: Bibliographie Analytique," by Antoine Roy, revd., 185.
- St. Cyr, John Mary Irenaeus, 319.
- St. Mary's Church, Cleveland, Ohio, see Cleveland, Ohio. St. Mary's Church.
- St. Meinrad's Abbey, 63 ff.
- "Saint Meinrad's Historical Essays," revd., 195.
- Saint-Vallier, Jean Baptiste de la Croix de, 297.
- Saints, New American, 365.
- "Salesianum," Jan., 1930, revd., 380.
- Salt River, Ralls County, Missouri, 318.
- "San Carlos—A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787," [reprint], by A. B. Thomas, revd., 187.
- San Juan Bautista Mission*, by M. S. CORCORAN, 246-258.
- Scheper, Francis, tr., *HOLWECK'S Two Pioneer Indiana Priests*, 63-81.
- Schlarman, Joseph H., "From Quebec to New Orleans," revd., 367.
- Seven Years' War, 28 ff.
- Shields, James, 141.
- SIEDENBURG, FREDERIC, *The President Speaks, Mid-America—Our New Name*, 3; Sermon at Dedication of Marquette-Jolliet Monument, 268.
- Simpson, J. H., 167.
- Sioux Indians, Mission to the, 117.
- Sisters of Charity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, 117.
- Sisters of Providence, 67.
- Society of the Propagation of the Faith, 105.
- Some Unpublished Lorian Documents*, by M. M. HOFFMAN, 103-121.
- Soto, Hernando de, 6.
- Southwest, Early Explorers of the*, by P. J. FOIK, 199-211.
- SPALDING, HENRY S., revs. Boyd's "Mad Anthony Wayne," 279-281.
- "Story of the Old Spanish Missions of the Southwest," by E. C. Sullivan and A. E. Logie, revd., 285.
- "Stronger than Death," by Leo Kalmer, revd., 193.
- Sullivan, Ella C. (co-author), "Story of the Old Spanish Missions of the Southwest," revd., 285.
- Sweetman, John, 140 ff.
- Sweetman, Walter, 145 ff.
- Swift County, Minnesota, 150.
- Tapis, Estevan, 248.
- Thomas, Alfred B., "San Carlos—A Comanche Pueblo on the Arkansas River, 1787," [reprint], revd., 187.
- Tous, Gabriel, tr., *Ramon Expedition: Espinosa's Diary of 1716*, by I. F. DE ESPINOSA, 339-361.
- Townsend, William H., "Lincoln and His Wife's Home Town," revd., 282.
- Trans-Mississippi West History Conference, 172.
- Trappist Monastery, Dubuque, Iowa, 118.
- Traverse County, Minnesota, 150.
- Treaty of Paris, 30.
- Truth Teller*, by P. J. FOIK, 37-57.
- Tucker, Hilary, 326.
- Tuke, James H., 235.
- Two Pioneer Indiana Priests*, by F. S. HOLWECK, 63-81.
- United States Catholic Historical Society, "Historical Records and Studies," vol. XIX, revd., 379.
- Ursulines in New Orleans, 303.
- Vaca, Alvar Núñez Cabeza de, see Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, Alvar.
- Valerson, A. F., "Mother Adelaide of St. Theresa," revd., 193.
- Vallejo, Mariano, 251.
- Van Quickenborne, Charles Felix, 314.
- Vaudreuil, Pierre Rigaud, Marquis de, 22.
- Viador, José, 248.
- VILLIERS DU TERRAGE, BARON MARC DE, ed., *A Hitherto Unpublished Plan of Fort Orleans on the Missouri*, drawn by DUMONT DE MONTIGNY, 259-263.
- Vitry, Pierre de, 264.
- Washington, George, 27.
- "Wayne, Mad Anthony," by Thomas Boyd, revd., 279.
- Wilkinson, General James, and His Religious Affiliations*, by R. N. HAMILTON, 122-132.

GENERAL INDEX

XI

- William of Orange, 13.
- "Winning of Freedom," (Pageant of America, vol. VI), by William Wood and R. H. Gabriel, revd., 98.
- Winship, G. P., 167.
- Wisconsin in the Civil War, 212-222.
- Wood, William (co-author), "The Winning of Freedom," (Pageant of America, vol. VI), revd., 98; (co-author), "In Defense of Liberty," (Pageant of America, vol. VII), revd., 283.
- Wordsworth, Samuel, 40.
- Xuarez, Juan, 199.
- Zeuch, Lucius H. (co-author), "The Location of the Chicago Portage Route of the Seventeenth Century," revd., 183.





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